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Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania

September 1, 1932 - October 31, 1933

Report of the Executive Director

of the

State Emergency Relief Board of Pennsylvania

State Emergency Relief Board

Harrisburg, Pa.

December 1933

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD
HARRISBURG

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

December 15, 1933

Honorable Gifford Pinchot,
Governor of Pennsylvania, and
Chairman, State Emergency Relief Board,
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Dear Governor Pinchot:

I have the honor to submit to you "The Report of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board— UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN PENNSYLVANIA, September 1, 1932, - October 31, 1933".

Sincerely yours,

Eric W. Biddle

Executive Director.

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Foreword

On October 15, 1933 it was estimated that there were 906,787 unemployed workers in Pennsylvania. As of October 31, 1933, there were 315,685 families dependent upon State and Federal unemployment relief for the bare necessities of life. The Pennsylvania State Emergency Relief Board is providing relief for almost 1,500,000 men, women and children—more than the total population of Allegheny County. The relief population of Pennsylvania is actually greater than the *total population* of any one of seventeen states of the United States.

Within the past fourteen months the administration of unemployment relief has become one of the most important functions of the State government. It is the most direct exercise of the protective power of the State to preserve the lives and well-being of its citizens.

Called into existence almost overnight, the State Emergency Relief Board has become a Department of the State Government which reaches out to every community of the State. From September 1, 1932, to November 1, 1933, the State Board has been responsible for the expenditure of almost $90,000,000.00 for unemployment relief in Pennsylvania.

The tragic need occasioned by unemployment is one of the most depressing chapters in Pennsylvania's history. The one bright spot in the otherwise bleak picture has been the evolution of this vast public relief program which is based on clear-cut principles of government operation and which is one of the most impressive governmental undertakings since the earliest days of the Commonwealth.

Nature of This Report

This report is an accounting and interpretation of that which has been attempted and achieved in the first fourteen months of the Board's existence. There is ample evidence as to the wisdom of this general program for unemployment relief, and the report conveys proof of the effectiveness with which the program has been carried out. However, an objective consideration reveals the desirability of modification of some of the principles upon which the program is based.

The report includes a review of the conditions which led to the formation of the State Emergency Relief Board. The relief program which has been carried out since September, 1932, and the problems involved have been considered in detail.

A series of recommendations which might form the basis for a long range program dealing with problems of unemployment are submitted.

This is a report of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board to the Board itself, to the General Assembly, and to the people of Pennsylvania.

Acknowledgments

It is not possible to acknowledge fully the contributions which have made the report possible. The major task of compiling and editing this report was performed by Dr. Roland B. Eutsler, of the University of Pennsylvania, working under the direction of Emmett H. Welch, Director of Research and Statistics of the State Emergency Relief Board. The assistance of Mr. Arthur Dunham, Secretary of the Family Welfare and Relief Division of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania and former Field Director of the State Emergency Relief Board, is gratefully acknowledged. Other valuable contributions have been made by various members of the State Board and of other departments of the State Government.

For the report in its final form and for the recommendations embodied in it, the Executive Director assumes full responsibility.

By the nature of things involved in the development of such a vast program as that of the State Emergency Relief Board, the undertaking has been replete with elements of both success and failure. Those who have been re-

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sponsible for the administration of the program have ever been alive to its shortcomings, many of which may be attributed to the sheer strain on physical endurance of a staff too few in number to administer effectively the relief program undertaken. With a full realization of the strong and weak points of the administration, this report is submitted with a most profound appreciation for the contribution of the many who have given themselves in making this great citizen undertaking effective. Many citizens have contributed indirectly and others, by serving as members of the unpaid citizens' boards, have contributed directly to this undertaking. Without exception, members of the administrative staff of the State Board have exercised a whole-hearted devotion to the undertaking. They have cheerfully responded to all calls upon their time and strength, irrespective of the personal sacrifices involved.

Insecurity

No record of the administration of relief in Pennsylvania since September 1, 1932, would be complete without reference to the constant uncertainty concerning the receipt of funds to meet the requirements. From August, 1932, to May, 1933, the budgeting of relief funds was made on a month to month basis. There was but a small amount of State funds available and dependence during that period was very largely upon Federal funds. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation was at that time administering the Federal funds, and its grants of money to meet the needs of a given month were frequently not made until after the first of that month. During the latter part of the Legislative session in the spring of this year relief was actually interrupted completely in several counties. Such uncertainty caused costly delay in the formulation and carrying out the relief program.

However, the disastrous administrative consequences of this uncertainty pale into insignificance when compared to the stark fear which this situation brought to those dependent on the meager relief grants. One can only trust that never again in the history of Pennsylvania will those who are unemployed for reasons beyond their control have to face such an experience.

Citizens of Pennsylvania who have been fortunate enough to enjoy a reasonable degree of economic security have sometimes been misled as to the character of people who are on relief. Who are these people? Are they the wasters, the lazy and the incompetent? On the contrary, these people are a cross section of American life. They *are* America, as truly as are their self-supporting neighbors. A few of them are lazy and incompetent. But the vast majority are self-respecting artisans, mechanics, and white-collar people that America in its more boastful days was prone to consider the salt of the earth.

Something has been taken from these people which no one will ever be able fully to restore. But it is our plain duty to use every ounce of ingenuity to correct the conditions which have produced this ghastly situation and to prevent its recurrence. If we will, this can be accomplished. To that end, this report is submitted with an earnest plea for the thoughtful consideration and the active assistance of all who have at heart the welfare of the Commonwealth and its people.

ERIC H. BIDDLE, *Executive Director,*
State Emergency Relief Board.

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Chapter I

Relief in Pennsylvania Prior to September, 1932[1]

Unemployment in Pennsylvania did not begin with the stock market crash of October, 1929. Even before this date unemployment was on the increase, and

> "during the so-called prosperity twenties the increasing displacement of labor by machinery was reflected in the increased numbers of unemployed persons applying for relief to existing social agencies. The literature of the period abounds in references to the 'rising tide of relief.' In the summer of 1929, preceding the October stock-market crash, the relief load in many large family welfare societies failed to decline to the degree recorded in the three preceding summers."[2]

The stream of unemployment was already tending to overflow the banks that usually confined it. Then, in October, 1929, came the bursting of the dam; the stream became a flood and the flood widened into a lake that threatened to engulf industry itself. In the months that followed the stock market crash it became gradually apparent that what had happened was not a mere financial flurry; that American business had suffered a major dislocation; that the Nation was face to face with a severe and apparently increasing business depression.

Bred of this depression, a new blight of unemployment began gradually to spread over Pennsylvania as over the rest of the United States. The wheels of industry turned more and more slowly. Orders and sales decreased; production was curbed; workers were laid off; mills and factories closed; mines shut down; more and more self-supporting and self-respecting wage earners lost their places in industry and were added to the increasing ranks of the unemployed.

Unemployment in 1930

The United States Bureau of the Census, in connection with its 1930 census, reported that 325,492 Pennsylvania wage earners, or 8.7%, of the 3,722,428 gainful workers in the State were unemployed in April, 1930.[3] These unemployed workers were classified as follows:

Class A—Persons out of a job able to work and looking for a job	207,691
Class B—Persons having jobs but on lay-off without pay excluding those sick or voluntarily idle	117,801
	325,492

Increased and prolonged unemployment led inevitably to an increase in the applications and grants for relief. The wages of many industrial workers are so low that even in times of steady employment they live close to the margin of want, and have little or no opportunity to lay up savings as a reserve against emergencies. When such a worker loses his job and his income stops, his only defense against poverty is gone. He may be able to stem the tide for a time through exhausting what meager savings he may have, through stretching his limited credit as far as it will go, through borrowing, and through accepting help from relatives or friends. But these are, for the most part, temporary expedients; when they come to an

[1] The factual data contained in this chapter were assembled by Artbur Dunbam, former field director of tbe State Emergency Relief Board.

[2] Colcord, Joanna C.—"Unemployment Relief", Social Work Year Book, 1933, p. 520—521.

[3] "How Many Are Jobless in Pennsylvania", p. 9. Department of Labor and Industry, Special Bulletin No. 33, Harrisburg, July 1931; 32 pages.

end the worker and his family find themselves defenseless, stripped of resources and lacking the elemental necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter, fuel.

So, during the winter of 1929-30, there was a marked increase in the relief loads of the organized agencies and

> "when, in the late spring of 1930, the usual seasonal reduction in relief applications failed to materialize, the more far-seeing communities began to make preparations for a severe winter of unemployment."[4]

During the last months of 1930, citizens' emergency committees were organized in many American communities. Pennsylvania was no exception to this movement. The Philadelphia Committee for Unemployment Relief (often called the "Lloyd Committee" after its chairman, Horatio Gates Lloyd) was organized on November 14, 1930; a few weeks later the first steps were taken in Pittsburgh that led to the formation of the Allegheny County Emergency Association on January 30, 1931. Other unofficial emergency committees were organized in various other communities of the State.

The King Committee

Thus far the response to the unemployment situation and to the increased need for relief in Pennsylvania had been local rather than State-wide. The first important step toward State-wide leadership was taken on October 10, 1930, when Gifford Pinchot, Republican candidate for Governor, appointed a Pennsylvania Committee on Unemployment consisting of some fifty members, under the chairmanship of Professor Clyde L. King, of the University of Pennsylvania, former Secretary of the Commonwealth.

The letter of invitation to the members of the Committee said in part:

> "Unemployment has now become our most immediate problem. No class gains from it; all classes lose by it.
>
> "Unemployment creates fear. The workers can never breathe easily so long as this menace hangs over them. No state can really be prosperous when a large percentage of its citizens are unemployed. Our own state of Pennsylvania should not be the last to grapple with this problem; it should be among the first.
>
> "I am asking you, therefore, as part of the plan for a Greater Pennsylvania, to serve as a member of a committee to report to me not later than January 1 next on how the amount of unemployment may be reduced and how the condition of the unemployed and their families may be alleviated. I want the specific advice of the Committee as to what I, as Governor can do, what the Legislature of Pennsylvania can do and what all men and women of good-will can do in this matter.
>
> "I suggest that the following subjects among others deserve your attention:
>
> 1. Seasonal fluctuations in demand for work . . .
> 2. Employment agencies . . .
> 3. Unemployment due to changes in markets and manufacturing methods . . .
> 4. A planned program of public work . . .
> 5. Stabilization of incomes during periods of unemployment . . .
>
> "It is highly improbable that unemployment can be entirely eliminated in the predictable future. Therefore stabilization is necessary to protect families against want and to furnish that purchasing power which is needed to keep industrial establishments running which otherwise would be closed. I ask you to consider this also.
>
> "There are many other features of this question which will command your attention . . .
>
> "To remove insecurity from the lives of the workers and from industry as a whole is one of the greatest and most fundamental tasks of modern civilization.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> (Signed) Gifford Pinchot"[5]

[4] Colcord, op. cit., p. 521.

[5] "Alleviating Unemployment": A report by the Pennsylvania Committee on Unemployment to Gifford Pinchot, Governor, Page 6-7. Harrisburg, 1931: 73 pages.

Dr. King's committee was concerned primarily with the economic aspects of unemployment. Unemployment relief was not mentioned in the letter of appointment although it was touched upon in the report.

Mr. Pinchot was elected Governor of Pennsylvania on November 4, 1930 and was inaugurated on January 20, 1931. On January 17, the Committee presented its report to the Governor elect; the next month the Governor transmitted the report to the General Assembly.

The committee submitted recomendations under seven heads: (1) Stimulation of stabilization through leadership on the part of the State Department of Labor and Industry; (2) A public works program for Pennsylvania; (3) Improvement of public employment offices; (4) Better regulation of private employment agencies; (5) Edueation; (6) Relief; and (7) Unemployment reserves and insurance against unemployment.[6]

Recommendations Regarding Relief

The report dealt rather casually with the subject of relief. The topic was disposed of in less than a page in the body of the report—less space than was assigned to any of the other recommendations. In its letter of transmittal the committee said:

> "Your committee was also made the Pennsylvania Committee on Unemployent in the present crisis. We feel that our work in this endeavor is but well begun. We have created a county committee in every county of the State where a county-wide committee was not already at work. These county committees have made surveys of the need for relief in all parts of the county, and some urgent need has been discovered in sections not covered by agencies theretofore existing. These committees are cooperating with your State committee in pushing public works, particularly in the Spring of 1931."[7]

The section of the report which dealt with the Organization of Relief was as follows:

> "The Committee immediately recognized the necessity for committees in the various counties which would organize and co-ordinate relief and it has now set up such bodies in virtually every county in the State. Perhaps the most important immediate task of these committees is the raising of more funds for relief and for their distribution through accredited local charitable organizations. The Sub-committee on Relief and on Co-operation with Local Agencies has worked out standards which should be followed including: (1) The listing of the unemployed and ascertaining those now receiving relief. (2) Aiding in the raising of funds. (3) Granting relief through accredited agencies to the most needy cases on condition that they render service in return on public work which would not otherwise be undertaken. The rates of payment for such work to be, however, at the going local rate. (4) Co-operating with the local agencies in a program of visiting the families of the unemployed to determine what needs for medical, vocational, or other care the families need and of attempting to fill these to the fullest degree possible.
>
> "These county and local committees will continue their work as long as their services are needed and it is hoped that they may prepare the way for county units of Welfare under the supervision of the State Department of Welfare which will provide specialized care for the various groups needing it along the lines of the program worked out in North Carolina and now being considered by a number of other States."[8]

Sufficient data is not at hand to form any judgment as to the effectiveness of these local committees over the State as a whole. From the evidence that is available one gathers the impression that some of the committees functioned quite actively while others were scarcely more than paper organizations. In any case, these committees were a product of the current belief that unemployment relief needs could and should be cared for by *local* private and public funds.

Local Relief Advocated

The Sub-committee on Relief left no doubt of their judgment on this subject. In their re-

[6] Ibid., p. 9-11.

[7] Ibid., p. 5.

[8] Ibid., p. 26.

port, which is appended to the report of the main committee, they said:

> "There is danger of assuming that state and national government may be justly called upon to provide relief in circumstances such as we now face.
>
> "Only upon the basis of appropriations which will result in creating necessary employment; and in appropriations made to pension systems, already provided in law, is there any justification for assuming that national or state government will provide 'grants in aid' to meet local needs.
>
> "Law, traditional custom, and good social practice make it a sound assumption that efforts looking to immediate relief by 'grants in aid' should come from local official bodies authorized by law to render such assistance.
>
> "In the State of Pennsylvania the Overseers of the Poor, the Directors of the Poor, the municipal governing bodies, through their public welfare agencies, have the right to provide, and are able to provide, the necessary funds to meet the emergency, if properly administered."[9]

Elsewhere in their report they observed that:

> "It should be remembered that material relief is a two edged instrument, which unless carefully manipulated by skilled hands, will do more damage than good, and will create in a community complacent paupers who look to the public treasury for their maintenance."[10]

The general tone of the King Committee report was reassuring. It presented no grounds for belief that there was sufficient distress at the beginning of 1931 to require the aid of other than local relief resources. The Governor in commenting on the report in his first message to the General Assembly, observed:

> "With few exceptions, the various County Committees have already made surveys of their respective communities and report no present need for outside help."[11]

The depression did not end by the fall of 1931. On the contrary, conditions grew steadily worse. Local relief funds were becoming exhausted. Local studies made by the United States Children's Bureau in certain counties of the State in the spring of 1931, as part of a series of surveys in certain areas of extreme depression, undertaken at the request of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, revealed shocking conditions as to the suffering resulting from unemployment and the inadequacy of local relief resources to meet the situation. Other evidence confirmed the fact that there were "distressed counties" in the State that were going to need help from without if they were to weather the storm. The idea began to gain ground that the State government should find out how much distress and suffering was being caused by unemployment within its borders and how far local resources could be depended upon to carry the burden longer. Back of this was a vague stirring of the idea that it might prove necessary for the State somehow to come to the aid of distressed counties and communities by some appropriation from State funds for unemployment relief.

The Baker Committee

On July 6, 1931, Governor Pinchot appointed a committee of seven members which came to be called the Governor's Planning Committee on Unemployment Relief. In his letter of appointment, the Governor said:

> "The people of Pennsylvania have much reason to be proud of the way in which unemployment relief problems have been handled in many parts of the State. But whatever success may have been achieved in the past, the prospect ahead requires us to ascertain in exact detail what is the actual situation and to prepare for whatever demands may be made upon the State and its relief agencies during the coming winter . . .

[9] Ibid., p. 71.

[10] Ibid., p. 73.

[11] First General Message to the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by Gifford Pinchot, Governor; Tuesday, February 10, 1931; p. 9. pamphlets, 13 pages.

"The soft coal region is a notable illustration of the need of what I have to suggest.

"The probable degree of the need, the probable demand upon private funds available for charity, the sufficiency or insufficiency of local tax funds, and the effects of privation are among the major subjects for investigation.

"If the present depression extends into next winter, as we hope most earnestly it will not, the necessity for relief will be greater than ever before. If we are not to fall short, we must know as precisely as we can, and well in advance, what is the coming situation which must be met. No harm can result from gathering the facts.

"Will you serve as a member of a committee of seven to devise plans for making a quick but careful study of the present and probable situation in Pennsylvania, with a view to advising me as to what may be gained from such a study and how it may best be carried on? Cost, personnel, method of study, time required, and suggestions for a larger committee to be announced at a later date, should all be considered.

"We must know to what extent localities and counties are or are not prepared to meet their own needs. If outside help is required in money or personnel, what will the probable demands be? What action by state and local governments may we expect, and how far can the departments of the State Government coordinate their work with State-wide and local welfare organizations?"

The members of this committee were Horace Forbes Baker, attorney, Pittsburgh, Chairman; Hon. John L. Hanna, Secretary of Welfare; Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson, Acting Director, Pittsburgh Federation of Social Agencies; Dr. Jacob Billikopf, Executive Director, Federation of Jewish Charities, Philadelphia; J. Prentice Murphy, Executive Secretary, Children's Bureau of Philadelphia; Edwin D. Solenberger, General Secretary, Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania; Arthur Dunham, Secretary, Child Welfare Division, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania.

In the same month as the appointment of this committee, the State Department of Labor and Industry published a bulletin in which it was estimated that there were 918,768 unemployed wage earners in Pennsylvania or 24.7% of the total wage earners of the State in June, 1931, as against the 325,492, or 8.7% recorded in April, 1930.[12]

Relief Needs and Conditions—August, 1931

Mr. Baker's committee met on July 22, 1931. Following this meeting, the committee, largely through the efforts of J. Prentice Murphy, made a quick study of the situation and compiled a report on Relief Needs and Conditions in Pennsylvania which was submitted to Governor Pinchot in August, 1931. The title page of the report indicated that this document was:

> "Prepared by the Planning Committee from material furnished by the State Departments of Welfare, Labor and Industry, Public Instruction, Health, Mines, Agriculture, Highways; also Poor Officials, Community Chests and Financial Federations, and other private welfare agencies operating in Pennsylvania, and the National Association of Community Chests and Councils."[13]

The committee called attention to the estimate of the Department of Labor and Industry that;

> "the total number of unemployed in Pennsylvania in June, 1931, was estimated to be 919,000, or nearly one-fourth of the whole working population. This estimate is based on the Federal unemployment census of 1930 (classes A and B) brought up to June, 1931, by the use of the official State indexes of employment."

The report declared that:

> "Of the 67 counties in the state, ser-

[12] "How Many Are Jobless in Pennsylvania?"—Department of Labor and Industry, Special Bulletin No. 33, Harrisburg, July 1931, 32 pages.

[13] "Relief Needs and Conditions in Pennsylvania, August, 1931"—contained in the pamphlet, Public Hearing on Statewide Unemployment Relief Before Members of the General Assembly, November 24, 1931, p. 3. This report was later republished, together with other data relating to the subsequent discussions as to the legality of the various forms of State relief, in the Social Service Review for December 1931, p. 596–628.

ious conditions exist in approximately 30, tending to be county-wide. These particularly 'distressed' counties or communities present problems which involve unusual unemployment and the likelihood of its continuance; abnormal part-time employment; reduction in family incomes through wage decreases; malnutrition and underfeeding; exhaustion of private and public funds; lack of private welfare organizations and increasing difficulty of public welfare officials to meet relief demands; an increasing number of embarrassed school districts, and unprecedented pressure on hospitals for free care with a marked falling off in hospital receipts."[14]

The report went on to discuss the extent of unemployment in the major industries. It gave specific examples as to suffering and distress in local communities:

"Five towns in one district having a population of 14,000 will require outside aid if depression continues.

"Officials say that distress has increased to such an extent that they are overwhelmed with applications for aid.

"Suffering has been very great, and from present conditions will continue during the fall and winter.

"From 800 to 1000 children are being fed daily at one relief station. The Poor Board has applications from about 1200 adults for relief.

"2000 men thrown out of work and now there is a great deal of poverty. The unemployed need help badly.

Available relief funds are now running low.

"In one mining community 30 per cent of the people are definitely in need; 15 per cent in dire need."[15]

The committee submitted the following recommendations:

"The destitute must be taken care of. Beyond a certain point, public responsibility for those in need, is basic to our common law. We are faced by a situation which is ominous to many of our citizens. It can be met by sound and farsighted planning and action.

"It is recommended that the Governor appoint a representative statewide committee on relief:

(a) To take such immediate steps as are necessary in view of certain urgent local needs;

(b) To gather accurate data as to probable fall and winter demands in all of the counties and the extent to which they can be met out of local tax funds and private contributions;

(c) To consider the necessity and extent of outside assistance in certain 'distressed' counties and areas, and to devise and consider ways and means for meeting or securing such help;

(d) To consider to what extent the necessary monies and services must be secured from public tax funds. Extension of certain of the state services involves no constitutional difficulties. Further state appropriations will be called for to meet new and unexpected demands for Mothers' Assistance. State constitutional prohibition or other direct appropriations to persons in need should be considered in the light of the present problem.

"Plans of the State Committee for the raising of private contributions should be correlated as far as possible with those of community chests and federations and other private welfare organizations."[16]

While the report of the Baker Committee recommended a more thorough study of the situation, it went a long way itself toward proving the case for the need of State aid for unemployment relief.

Relief and the Constitution

But the need had no sooner been envisaged than a grave obstacle intervened—the Constitution of the State.

The difficulty lay in Article III, Section 18, of the Constitution of Pennsylvania, which provided that:

[14] Ibid., p. 4.
[15] Ibid., p. 7-8.
[16] Ibid., p. 12-13.

"No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association."

At first this barrier seemed wholly unsurmountable. Governor Pinchot, in an address delivered on August 13, 1931, expressed his conviction that the State could not constitutionally appropriate funds for unemployment relief. He said:

"Pennsylvania is prevented by a clause in its constitution from incurring debt beyond a million dollars. It would require a Constitutional Amendment to let us borrow, and that takes several years.

"Then why not call a special session of the Legislature and appropriate? Again the Constitution. Under it we cannot appropriate for such a purpose. I am profoundly sorry that I must admit it, but so far as money goes Pennsylvania as a Commonwealth is almost helpless to assist.

"Many other States are in the same predicament. Many doubtless, as we do, have in their Constitutions clauses which in effect forbid the appropriation of State money for the purpose of relieving private distress.

"*The fact is that the only power strong enough, and able to act in time, to meet the new problem of the coming winter is the Government of the United States. This is a National emergency. It is a National calamity as well. The Nation must help to meet it.*"[17] (Italics ours.)

In the weeks that followed, earnest efforts were made to find a way around the apparent prohibition provision of the Constitution. The Governor's Planning Committee met on September 23, 1931, and submitted the following recommendations:

1. The Committee recommends that the Governor call a special session of the Legislature at the earliest possible moment.

2. It is agreed that $20,000,000 is a possible sum to be considered as an appropriation by the Legislature for unemployment relief, and that this sum should be raised from some new sources of revenue.

3. That the Governor cause to be created a corporation of the first class, to be designated by some such name as the Pennsylvania Society (or Association) for Unemployment Relief, to which corporation appropriations of the Legislature can be made. This corporation should have as its object the handling of unemployment relief with the power of accepting and dispensing gifts from private sources. It should also have the responsibility of stimulating and giving leadership to plans of any kind for unemployment relief in any part of the State. This corporation should also have the power to develop such county or local organizations as may seem desirable.

4. It is suggested that the Governor's Planning Committee on Unemployment Relief may, if the Governor desires, continue to function in an advisory capacity to the Governor or the proposed corporation, and also that the Planning Committee may be authorized to perform any necessary functions pending the establishment of the new corporation.

5. The Committee believes that it would be extremely valuable for the Governor to make a public statement in connection with his call to the Legislature or otherwise calling attention to the magnitude of the problem of unemployment relief throughout the State, pointing out that both public and private resources will be needed to meet this situation, and stressing the vital importance of the splendid efforts being made by voluntary associations of private citizens through community campaigns and emergency funds to meet the needs of their neighbors.

On October 23, Mr. Baker, in a letter to the Attorney General, Hon. William A. Schnader, submitted a detailed argument in support of

[17] Pinchot, Gifford—"Let Us Deal with This Emergency". Text of speech delivered before Mayor's Unemployment Committee in Detroit, Michigan, August 13, 1931, p. 6-7, Pamphlet, 11 pages.

the constitutionality of the plan proposed by his committee.

The Attorney General did not concur with this view. In an opinion rendered to the Governor on October 27, the Attorney General held that:

> "The Legislature cannot make appropriations for the payment of money or the furnishing of food, clothing and shelter to unemployed persons and their families either directly or through a State agency or to political subdivisions of the State."

He held also that:

> "We cannot escape the conclusion that under the cases cited, the Legislature could not without violating the Constitution, make appropriations for unemployment relief to any charitable corporation or association."[18]

One further attempt was made to seek a solution more or less along the lines of the Baker Committee's recommendation. Taking the Attorney General's opinion as a point of departure, Robert Dechert and Harold Evans, members of the Philadelphia bar representing the Community Council of Philadelphia, submitted a memorandum arguing in favor of state appropriations for unemployment relief in the form of "State aid" (long a feature of Pennsylvania's welfare system) to existing welfare agencies.[19]

The First Special Session—Fall 1931

On October 31, 1931, the Governor issued a call for a special session of the Legislature to convene on November 9.

In his message to the Legislature on November 10, the Governor said:

> "Under the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court, the Commonwealth can not appropriate money directly for the relief of the unemployed. The Attorney General, after very thorough study, has reached the following definite conclusions:
>
> 'That the Legislature cannot make appropriaitons for providing directly to unemployed persons and their families food, clothing or shelter;
>
> 'That they cannot be made to any county, city, borough or other political subdivision of the Commonwealth and that such appropriations cannot be made to a State agency;
>
> 'That they cannot be made to welfare agencies incorporated or unincorporated.'
>
> "In short, the money of the State cannot be used for direct relief. Therefore the imperative duty of the Commonwealth to protect its people must be met in other ways."[20]

The Governor then proceeded to outline his plan for a "Prosperity Bond Issue",—State bonds to be issued at once, although the issue could not be legally ratified until the adoption of a constitutional amendment by the people in the fall of 1933. The plan involved:

> ". . . the creation of a State Commission on Unemployment Relief to consist of five persons serving without salary, who will solicit contributions or subscriptions, supervise their expenditure, co-operate with local relief organizations and assist the Departments of the State Government in relieving distress. The money subscribed will be used where needed without constitutional or other restrictions, except that none of it will be given as a dole in any form.
>
> "It is proposed that all money subscribed to the Commission shall be repaid by the State, with interest at four per cent, out of the proceeds of Prosperity Bonds provided for in a joint resolution proposing a Constitutional Amendment which is before you. This resolution, if passed at the present session, will be presented to the next regular session and, if there approved, will be submitted to the people in the autumn of 1933.
>
> "I have been assured time and again that the people of Pennsylvania—and especially those who are well off—would refuse to come forward and subscribe the funds that are so urgent-

[18] Department of Justice, Formal Opinion No. 30, October 27, 1931, p. 7-9. Mimeographed, 9 pages.

[19] Social Service Review, December, 1931, p. 624-628.

[20] Ibid., p. 669.

ly needed for the relief work of the Commonwealth. I decline to believe it. On the other hand when I pointed out the imperative need for Federal assistance. it was asserted from many sources, public and private, that Pennsylvania would take care of her own. Very well—here is the opportunity to make these assurances good.''[21]

On November 24, 1931, a public hearing ''on the question of the need of State-wide unemployment relief'' was held before the members of the General Assembly. At this hearing, Mr. Baker presented the report of his Committee; cabinet members and representatives testified as to the conditions obtaining within the State. The new Secretary of Welfare, Mrs. Alice F. Liveright, (who had succeeded Secretary Hanna on September 29, 1931), summarized the situation on the basis of county reports compiled by the Department of Welfare within the month. It was pointed out that the unemployment situation was serious in every county of the State; that there was a woeful lack of organization to meet the problems; that but few counties realize the seriousness of the situation; that the inevitable aftermath would be lowered vitality and decreased efficiency; and that the time had come for the county and the State to join hands in protecting the people of Pennsylvania.[22]

The testimony at this hearing was a foretaste of the grim stories regarding conditions in Pennsylvania which were to be spread before a United States Senate Committee within the next two months. The need of state unemployment relief was proved beyond a peradventure at this hearing. Interest swung next to the question of how such relief could constitutionally be made available.

Incidentally, the agitation for some relief legislation by the General Assembly was sharpened by the action of two adjoining states. New York in September, 1931, led the way in State unemployment relief with an appropriation of $20,000,000 to be administered by a Temporary Emergency Relief Administration headed by an unpaid board of three citizen members. New Jersey followed a month later with legislation creating an Emergency Relief Administration headed by a State Director of Emergency Relief.

The First Talbot Act—December, 1931

The Legislature rejected the Governor's plan for a ''Prosperity Bond Issue'' and after a stormy session enacted in its stead the First Talbot Act, which was presented to the Governor for signature on December 16, 1931.

The First Talbot Act provided among other things:

> ''That in the exercise of the police power for the protection of the public health, safety, morals and welfare threatened by existing conditions of unemployment, and in the assumption by the Commonwealth of its duty to the care of the poor, the sum of ten million dollars is hereby specifically appropriated to the Department of Welfare for payment to political subdivisions charged by law with the care of the poor, which appropriation shall be allocated as hereinafter provided and paid over by said department in December, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-one (1931) and the months of January, February, March, April and May, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-two (1932)''[23]

The Governor, acting on the advice of the Attorney General, and holding that the act was unconstitutional, issued a statement on December 23, in which he said in part:

> ''The Talbot Bill is not a bill for unemployment relief. It is a bill for 'State aid to political subdivisions', as its title recites. All the money it appropriates could be spent for maintaining poorhouses, building more poorhouses, hiring employes of poor boards, or paying up their old debts.
>
> ''The money this bill appropriates could be spent to support persons 'without means of support', no matter how well able to take care of them their relations might be.
>
> ''The best that can be said is that the wording of the bill does not forbid

[21] Ibid., p. 609, 612.

[22] Public Hearing on State-wide Unemployment Relief before Members of General Assembly in the Hall of the House, November 24, 1931, p. 32-33.

[23] Act No. 7-E, December 28, 1931, P. L. 1503.

giving relief to the unemployed, if any beneficiaries of the bill should, in their discretion, decide to use some of it for that purpose.

"The bill pretends to make an appropriation to the Department of Welfare. But the department could neither direct nor supervise the use of the State's money but only figure out an allocation among the counties on the basis specified in the bill. It could not even audit the expenditures after they were made.

"Giving State aid to political subdivisions without State supervision or control is a most unhealthy precedent. In ordinary times that alone would be reason enough for vetoing this bill.

"I am advised by the Attorney General that this bill is unconstitutional and I am completely convinced that he is right. The General Assembly, which, by resolutions unanimously passed in both houses, asked the Attorney General for his opinion upon the constitutionality of all measures submitted to the extra session, was likewise advised that in his opinion it is unconstitutional.

"Article III, Section 18, of the Pennsylvania Constitution, provides that 'No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes to any person or community . . .'

"The appropriation made by this bill is clearly for charitable or benevolent purposes. It is made for 'State aid to political subdivisions'. A political subdivision is a community. Clearly the appropration made by this bill is unconstitutional . . .

"This bill is about the worst and most slipshod measure I have had to handle in the whole of my experience as Governor. I recognize, and I believe the whole State recognizes, that it was conceived in politics and born in hatred, and that the last thing its sponsors were concerned about was relief for the unemployed. Nevertheless, it is the only measure which stands between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the disgrace of a complete refusal to give any help worth mentioning to a million of its citizens who are unemployed and to their two million dependents.

"The choice before me, therefore, is between vetoing this bill and allowing it to become a law. The argument for vetoing this bill on its merits in ordinary times would be overwhelming.

"The argument for allowing it to become a law without my signature is the hope, however faint, that the Supreme Court, might declare it constitutional in spite of everything. If it did, some fraction, however small of the $10,000,000 this bill appropriates would be secured for the unemployed and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania would be freed from the stigma of complete refusal to help its own people in the time of their distress . . .

"My conclusion is that I cannot sign this bill because it is not fit to be signed. But I cannot veto this bill because there is a chance, however remote, that it might be held constitutional, and so give some relief to the unemployed and save the Commonwealth from the disgrace of refusing to help her people. I cannot destroy that chance.

"My only course is to follow the recommendation of the Attorney General and to let the Talbot Bill become law without my signature. That is my decision.

"When this bill becomes law, this Administration will favor a prompt decision, because no money can be paid out under it unless and until the Supreme Court affirms its constitutionality. Until it does the opinion of the Attorney General must stand. But the final decision will rest not with him, not with me, but with the Supreme Court.

(Signed) Gifford Pinchot"[24]

The First Talbot Act became a law without the Governor's signature on December 28, 1931. Because of the question of its constitutionality, a friendly suit was instituted to determine

[24] Ibid. The Governor's statement is appended to the Act.

this question. (Commonwealth *v.* Liveright et al, 308 Pa. 35; 1932)

The First Talbot Act Held Constitutional—April, 1932

On April 7, 1932, the Supreme Court, by a vote of 4 to 3, held the First Talbot Act Constitutional. In the opinion of the court, written by Justice John W. Kephart, various technical contentions as to the Act's constitutionality were disposed of; then the court dealt with its earlier decision in the case of Busser *v.* Snyder (282 Pa. 440), in which the Old Age Assistance Act had been held unconstitutional, and the opinion said:

> "There is no direct prohibition against the use of state money to pay for the care and maintenance of indigent, infirm and mentally defective persons, without ability or means to sustain themselves, and other charges of like nature. They become direct charges on the body politic for its own preservation and protection. As such, in the light of an expense, they stand exactly in the same position as the preservation of law and order. To provide institutions or to compensate such institutions for the care and maintenance of this class of persons has for a long time been recognized as a governmental duty and . . . such appropriations may well be sustained on this theory . . .
>
> "Considering the subject of this case, we find Act 7-E makes an appropriation for the relief of the poor. We again hold that the support of the poor —meaning such persons as have been understood as coming within that class ever since the organization of the government, persons who are without means of support, the same persons stated in the Talbot Bill, Act 7-E—is and has always been a direct charge on the body politic for its own preservation and protection; and that as such, in the light of an expense, stands exactly in the same position as the preservation of law and order. The expenditure of money for such purposes by the State is in performance of a governmental function or duty and is not controlled by the constitutional provision, if the purpose is to supply food and shelter to the poor, including those who are destitute because of enforced unemployment, provided only that the money be not administered through forbidden channels.
>
> "The appropriation in providing for relief of poor comprehended those who have been forced into that situation through enforced unemployment; they having no means to support themselves. From this cause the ranks of the poor have increased so rapidly as to stagger the people of our State. The fact that their numbers are swollen through unemployment does not change the established concept of poor persons. To hold that the State may not under the Constitution now aid such people even though it be a governmental duty, would be to deny to the State the right to perform not only an important but, at this time, a most pressing governmental function. To hold that the State cannot or must not aid its poor would strip the State of a means of self preservation and might conceive untold hardships and difficulties for the future." [25]

The First Talbot Act, then, went into operation in April, 1932. The significance of this Act lies in the fact that it resolved in the affirmative the long-debated question of the State's constitutional right to appropriate funds for the relief of the unemployed. It set an important precedent for future legislation. It determined that there should be State participation in the provision of unemployment relief in Pennsylvania.

As to the method of administration, the First Talbot Act provided essentially, as has been indicated above, that unemployment relief funds should be administered by the Poor Boards without State supervision. While the State Department of Welfare was chosen as the channel for the distribution of these funds to the Poor Boards, it was given no powers of supervision over the Poor Boards in their administration of the funds.

Poor Relief in Pennsylvania

What was the nature of the Poor Boards and

[25] Social Service Review, December, 1932, p. 619-621.

what was the status of poor relief in Pennsylvania?

Pennsylvania's system of poor relief dates back to the time of William Penn, when the Thirty-Second Law of the "Body of Laws" adopted in 1682, provided for public relief to the poor. Pennsylvania's poor laws are "not of indigenous growth",[26] they trace their lineage back through colonial days to the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Poor relief is variously organized in various counties. In twenty-one of the sixty-seven counties of the State, the County Commissioners serve as directors of the poor in addition to their usual duties. In twenty-nine counties, poor relief is administered by elected boards of poor directors—three to each county. In twelve counties each city, township, and borough constitutes a separate poor district, except for seven districts where a township and borough make up a poor district, with separate poor relief officers, usually elected by the people. In three more counties, poor districts are made up of one or more municipalities. One other exceptional form of organization is found in two counties.

All together, there are 424 poor districts, with about 920 individual directors or overseers of the poor.[27]

The general pattern of poor relief, then, is administration by elective boards of salaried directors. Since technicians rarely find their way into public office through popular election, it is not surprising that a negligible number of poor directors have had any technical training or preparation for relief administration. While the poor boards have the power to employ "trained welfare workers", almost none of them avail themselves of this provision of the law and even when "investigators" are employed they may have no perceptible qualifications for the skilled administration of public relief.

In 1925, Emil Frankel of the State Department of Welfare, made a State-wide survey of Poor Relief in Pennsylvania. While his report expresses appreciation of the efforts of certain high minded individuals who have served as poor directors and while he gives full credit to districts where the law is intelligently and effectively administered, yet the factual data included in his report presents as a whole one of the most damning records of governmental inefficiency and wastefulness that has ever been written. Instances of ignorance, stupidity, inhumanity, gross negligence and maladministration are given in appalling number and detail.[28]

Through the channels of this cumbersome relic of Tudor England flowed $7,256,137 of public funds during the year which Frankel studied (1923) *and of this amount 19.6% was expended for purposes of administration.*[29]

In relation to outdoor relief Mr. Frankel says in part:

> "In relief-giving the thought uppermost in the minds of most poor directors is not what is best for the family, considering all the circumstances under which they ask for relief, but 'are they worthy'?
>
> "Personal equation counts for a great deal in the giving of relief and personal likes and dislikes play a very influential part.
>
> "In determining the amount of relief to be given not much of an attempt is made to base it upon the real needs of the family . . . Most poor boards have traditional or artificial limitations on the size of the grants, and outdoor relief has become a routine procedure in which a fixed amount is doled out regardless of the individual circumstances.
>
> "Most poor districts do little 'follow-up work' after the first relief has been given, and families thus are allowed to shift for themselves. The changes that take place in the family seldom come to the attention of the directors through their own investigations or those of the investigators, but generally

[26] Heffner, William Clinton—"History of Poor Legislation in Pennsylvania, 1682–1913", p. 30–31. Holzapfel Publishing Co., Cleona, Pa., 1913, 302 pages.

[27] In the figures given here, Lycoming County is counted as a township and borough poor district county. The people of that county have voted in favor of the county commissioner poor district plan, and the courts have sustained the results of the election; but the present county commissioners have not acted, to date (November 15, 1933) to take over the poor relief administration in the county, and the township and borough poor relief administration continues in actual operation.

[28] Frankel, Emil—"Poor Relief in Pennsylvania". Pennsylvania Department of Welfare Bulletin 21, Harrisburg, 1925, 149 pages.

[29] Ibid.

come to them indirectly through grocers and neighbors.

"There is a lack of adequate record system from which a clear picture could be obtained of relief or other problems of the individual families; or from which could be drawn conclusions about the larger social problems presented by outdoor relief."[30]

Administration of the First Talbot Act

There is no evidence that poor relief in Pennsylvania was substantially different in 1932 from what it had been at the time of Mr. Frankel's study for 1923. The $10,000,000 of First Talbot funds were to all intents and purposes so much additional poor relief money and they were, naturally, so administered by the poor relief officials.

Up to November 15, 1933, there has been no complete accounting for the expenditure of this $10,000,000. Audits have been made in some counties, but the cumulative total of the amount spent is unknown at this writing. It is possible that some counties still have unspent First Talbot Funds. Altogether, this is a "no man's land" in Pennsylvania's unemployment relief history, and because of the law's failure to provide for State supervision there is an amazing lack of accurate information about the operation and expenditure of this first significant State appropriation for unemployment relief.

Incidentally, the Legislature provided for no new revenues to meet the $10,000,000 First Talbot appropriation; and in consequence of the Supreme Court's decision in the First Talbot Act case the appropriations to the Mothers' Assistance Fund and state-aided hospitals and institutions were "abated" or reduced in order to meet the appropriation.

Agitation for a Second Special Session

No sooner had the First Talbot Act gone into operation than it was realized that the $10,000,000 appropriated would not be sufficient to meet the unemployment relief needs of the State for any considerable period, and there was a new agitation for a second special session of the Legislature. On May 26, 1932, an unemployment conference was held at Harrisburg at the call of the Governor.

The Governor emphasized that he desired information particularly upon the following points:

1. The extent of suffering from unemployment in the various localities and in the State as a whole.
2. The resources now available and the length of time they will last.
3. Other resources that could be made available, such as unexhausted powers of taxation and borrowing.
4. Measures which an extra session of the Legislature might consider or enact.[31]

On June 20, 1932, the Philadelphia Committee on Unemployment Relief (the Lloyd Committee) announced that it was discontinuing its activities and dissolving. In its public statement, the Committee said:

"It must be obvious to everyone, as it is to the committee that the situation today is quite different from what it appeared to be when the committee was first formed. The duration of the depression, the vast and increasing numbers of unemployed, and the general economic condition, are such that it requires no argument for realization of the fact that the situation has progressed far beyond any possibility of relief from sources of private philanthropy, even for the most primitive necessities of life.

"The present need is on a scale that calls not for mere charity but for governmental action to save the health and indeed the lives of a large proportion of the citizenry.

"As its last act, therefore, the Committee for Unemployment Relief, gravely apprehensive as to the suffering that otherwise will result, earnestly requests the Governor of the Commonwealth immediately to exercise the prerogative vested in him of calling a special session of the Legislature to consider the subject of relief of the unemployed in the State, as well as

[30] Ibid., p. 94-95.

[31] Abstract of Proceedings at the Unemployment Conference Held in the Governor's Reception Room, Harrisburg, May 26, 1932; p. 3, Pamphlet, 20 pages.

the restoration to State-aided institutions of the $10,000,000 otherwise to be withdrawn from them by the operation of the Talbot act.

"And the committee as earnestly requests the Legislature, when convoked, to deal with the crisis in a broad spirit of cooperation with the Executive, to the end that our beloved Commonwealth shall not be disgraced before the civilized world and that our own consciences shall not be shocked by failure to avert the momentous peril which menaces our people."[32]

The Second Special Session—Summer, 1932

On June 2, 1932, the Governor issued a call for a second special session of the Legislature, and the Legislature convened on June 27.

In his message to the Legislature on the day it convened, the Governor pointed out the ominous increase in the number of unemployed in Pennsylvania. He said:

"Last November the number of unemployed in Pennsylvania was slightly more than 900,000. Eight months later, the number has increased by at least a quarter of a million, so that there are today in Pennsylvania more than 1,150,000 unemployed. In addition about one-third of the persons employed in normal times are now employed half time or less. This makes nearly another million directly affected by the depression."[33]

The Governor discussed the State's financial condition in detail and estimated that at least $60,000,000 would be required for unemployment relief for Pennsylvania within the year. The Legislature at this session appropriated $12,000,000 to cover the unemployment relief needs for a seven months period.

National Developments

In the meantime, events were moving forward in the national field. In December, 1931, a few members of Congress led by Senators LaFollette and Costigan had begun a strenuous fight for Federal aid for unemployment relief. Under the auspices of a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Manufactures, headed by Senator LaFollette, a series of hearings was held beginning in December, 1931, which revealed the ghastly picture of what unemployment had done to the people of the United States. A number of Pennsylvanians participated in these hearings, describing relief needs and conditions in the State.[34] During this period, Governor Pinchot was a vigorous advocate for Federal unemployment relief funds.

The first LaFollette-Costigan Bill for Federal Unemployment Relief was not enacted into law. But the seed had been sown; and five months later, at almost the same time as the tragic rout of the Bonus Army and their eviction from Washington, Congress passed, in the last days of the session, an act permitting loans to States for purposes of unemployment relief.[35]

The Acts of August 19, 1932

After a session of nearly two months, the General Assembly passed three acts which became the cornerstone of Pennsylvania's structure of emergency relief as it has been built up since September 1, 1932.

These three acts were as follows:

The Woodward Act

Act 51, often called the Woodward Act, provided for the establishment of a State Emergency Relief Board, consisting of five State officials, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Auditor General, State Treasurer, and Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Board was charged with the duty of planning and adopting a comprehensive program for the expenditure by the Governor of Federal funds received from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation for unemployment relief.

It was provided, in general, that the program should include:

(a) an equitable allocation of funds among the counties on the basis of the relief needs and resources of each county;

(b) the nature, character and location of public works to be constructed

[32] Philadelphia Record, June 20, 1932.

[33] Message to the Special Session of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania by Gifford Pinchot, Governor, June 27, 1932, p. 3, pamphlet, 28 pages.

[34] Unemployment Relief: Hearings before a sub-committee of the Committee on Manufactures, U. S. Senate on S. 174 and S. 262, December 28–30, 1931 and January 4–9, 1932.

[35] Public No. 302, 72nd Congress, July 21, 1932.

or improved by the use of Federal funds;

(c) the method and manner of distributing direct relief and the public and private agencies through which such relief shall be distributed in the various counties, and the manner in which private agencies shall be organized in communities where the same is deemed necessary; and

(d) the co-ordination of the relief work carried on by the Governor from Federal monies and that provided for by any appropriation from the State's General Fund for unemployment relief, so that the best results may be obtained, duplication be avoided, and the available funds from all sources be extended over the longest possible period of time.

This Act carried also an appropriation of $55,400 for administration; $35,400 of this to be spent by the Governor, $15,000 by the Auditor General and $5,000 by the State Treasurer for special expenses involved for those Departments.

The Second Talbot Act

Act 52, usually called the Second Talbot Act, was approved on the same date as Act 51. This Act provided: "That in the exercise of the police power for the protection of the public health, safety, morals, and welfare threatened by existing conditions of unemployment, and in the assumption by the Commonwealth of its duty to care for the poor, the sum of twelve million dollars is hereby specifically appropriated to the State Emergency Relief Board to provide direct relief and work relief . . . ". This amount was to be paid over during the seven-month period September 1, 1932, to March 31, 1933, as follows:

1932	
September	$1,500,000
October	1,500,000
November	1,500,000
December	2,000,000
1933	
January	2,000,000
February	2,000,000
March	1,500,000
Total	$12,000,000

It was further provided that the State Board should make allocations from this State fund among the various counties "on a ratio that the estimated number of unemployed persons in the county bears to the estimated total number of unemployed persons in the entire Commonwealth as shown by the latest available tables compiled and issued by the Department of Labor and Industry." Funds allocated to a county were to be available for either work relief or direct relief. However, the State Board was also authorized to allocate any part of a county's allocation for work relief on the State highways, to be carried out under the supervision of the State Department of Highways.

A third piece of legislation, Act No. 53, the Emergency Relief Sales Tax Act, provided revenue for the purposes of the Second Talbot Act appropriation by levying an emergency sales tax of 1% on gross income from sales during the period September 1, 1932-February 28, 1933.

Initial Organization of the State Emergency Relief Board

The first steps in the organization of the State Emergency Relief Board, taken during the twelve days following the enactment of these three Acts of August 19, have been thus described:

"Because of the urgency of the situation, the State Emergency Relief Board organized and took action almost immediately after the approval of the Act. During August, 1932, the State Board appointed in each county of the State a County Emergency Relief Board, consisting usually of seven citizens, serving without salary. The County Board was charged with the administration of State and Federal funds for emergency relief in its county and was empowered to administer such funds, either directly or through such public or private agencies, or both, as it might designate, subject to the approval of the State Board.

"On August 31, a meeting of the members of the County Emergency Relief Boards was held in Harrisburg, with the Governor presiding, and the

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task confronting the Boards was discussed."[36]

The next day, September 1, 1932, Pennsylvania's statewide program of unemployment relief officially went into operation.

[36] Dunham, Arthur—"Emergency Relief in Pennsylvania", p. 6–7. Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, February 1933; 30 pages.

Chapter II

Chronology of the State Emergency Relief Board

1932

August 19

Acts 51, 52, and 53, approved, establishing the State Emergency Relief Board, making an appropriation of $12,000,000 and levying a sales tax.

August 19-31

State Emergency Relief Board organized. County Emergency Relief Boards appointed.

August 31

Initial meeting of County Emergency Relief Board members at Harrisburg.

September 1

State Emergency Relief Board began operation. William B. Rodgers took office as Executive Director.

September 2

General policies and regulations issued by State Emergency Relief Board.

September 27

First Federal relief loan of $1,250,000 received from Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Field Service organized.

November 23

Eric H. Biddle appointed Assistant Director.

December 1

Shoe and Clothing Division established.

December 7

State Board issued statement reversing its former policy and assuming payment of administrative expenses incurred by County Emergency Relief Boards—thus laying the basis for centralized "Unit Control" administrative system since adopted as a State-wide policy.

1933

January 3-May 5

General Assembly in session; regular session of 1933.

January 9

Organization of State Emergency Child Health Committee.

January 12

Plan for establishing community markets announced by State Emergency Relief Board.

March 1

Statement of revised policies regarding work relief issued.

March 8

Allocation of $700,000 for thrift gardens.

March 17-28

First series of seven regional conferences held under auspices of State Emergency Relief Board at Harrisburg, Williamsport, Wilkes-Barre, Philadelphia, Huntingdon, Pittsburgh, and Erie.

March 31

End of the appropriation under the Second Talbot Act.

April 15-May 1

First contingents of young men sent to Civilian Conservation Corps under National Emergency Conservation Work program.

May 1

Eric H. Biddle appointed Executive Director.

Report on study of Transient and Homeless in Pennsylvania by Morris Lewis.

May 12

Federal Emergency Relief Act (Public, No. 15, 73rd Congress) creating Federal Emergency Relief Administration approved by the President.

May 22

Federal Emergency Relief Administration began operation.

May 31

Program for purchase and distribution of shoes and clothing authorized as funds might be made available.

July 1—August 15

Training course for emergency relief workers given at Pennsylvania State College.

August 1

State Emergency Relief Board regulations went into effect requiring that all Federal relief funds should be administered through public agencies. To effectuate the Federal requirements, the centralized "Unit Control" administrative system was made mandatory.

Bureau of Transients established.

August 30

State Board adopts State-wide plan to provide adequate food relief on a standard schedule of grants.

September 1

Relief Area Number 1 established, with headquarters at Sunbury. Initiation of policy of organizing relief areas, each composed of several counties.

October 4

State Emergency Relief Board adopted a resolution urging the adoption by the people of Amendment 8.

Active campaign undertaken by many state-wide organizations to urge the adoption of Amendment 8 to the State Constitution providing for a bond issue of $25,000,000 with $20,000,000 of this amount appropriated for State emergency relief.

October 11

Standard Food Relief schedules promulgated by State Emergency Relief Board.

October 14

Emergency Education Work Relief program initiated; county councils appointed in connection with this program. Pennsylvania is first state to adopt this Federal program.

October 16—November 3

Second series of six regional conferences held under auspices of State Emergency Relief Board at Philipsburg, Pittsburgh, Grove City, Scranton, Sunbury, and Harrisburg.

October 29

Division of Surplus Products established.

November 7

Amendment Number 8 adopted by vote of the people by large majority.

Federal Civil Works Administration created by the President.

November 15

Eric H. Biddle appointed State Civil Works Administrator by Harry L. Hopkins, Federal Civil Works Administrator.

November 16

Division of Medical Care established and comprehensive plan for medical home relief adopted, including nursing and emergency dental care, effective December 1, 1933.

December 6

Federal coal relief distribution plan put into effect.

Chapter III

Organization of the State Emergency Relief Board

The State Emergency Relief Board, brought into existence on September 1, 1932, by the Acts approved August 19, 1932, took immediate steps to begin the administration of the emergency relief funds entrusted to it. County Emergency Relief Boards were set up in each county to act as the agents for the State Board. A small executive staff, under an Executive Director, was recruited. The Board declared that relief to needy unemployed persons should be extended without delay and red tape.

Only twelve days intervened between August 19, the date of the approval of the Acts, and September 1, when the appropriation went into effect. There was no time for detailed planning and organization; the Board was forced to begin with a skeleton staff and expand from week to week and almost from day to day in an effort to cope with the tremendous task which unrolled itself before them. It took months for the organization to properly "catch up" with its job—the inevitable result arising from lack of blue printing a job of such magnitude in advance of construction.

The following pages describe the State and local administration for emergency relief, the development of major policies and of the administration of various types of relief, and the size and nature of the task.

Composition of the State Emergency Relief Board

The State Emergency Relief Board consists of the following State officials:

The Governor
The Lieutenant Governor
The Auditor General
The State Treasurer
The Speaker of the House of Representatives

By invitation of the Board, the Attorney General or his deputy and the Secretary of Welfare meet regularly with it in an advisory capacity. The Board meets frequently and determines all questions of program and policy in the administration of relief.

Administrative Divisions of the State Emergency Relief Board

The Administrative Organization is under the direction of the Executive Director who is responsible to the State Board. He is in charge of all the administrative and relief activities of the State and Local Boards. All divisions and employes are responsible to him.

The Administrative Organization of the State Board includes the following divisions:

1. Field Service Division
2. Comptroller's Division
3. Research and Planning Division
4. Personnel Division
5. Public Relations Division
6. Shoes and Clothing Division
7. Bureau of Transients
8. Community Market Division
9. Thrift Garden Division
10. Surplus Products Division
11. Medical Care Division

Field Service Division

The State has been divided into a number of field districts, to each of which has been assigned a field representative who interprets the policies and regulations of the State Board and advises upon local problems of organization and administration. It is his function, also, to observe and to report to the State Board office local conditions and methods of relief administration.

The development of a field supervising staff grew out of a recognition of the fact that no state-wide administration can be successfully carried on from a desk at the State Capitol. Interpretations are needed in both directions between the central administration and the local offices. In Pennsylvania, service of the field staff, recruited from persons with welfare and relief experience, has been a most important factor in the development of a sound program.

The Field Representatives supplied the essential liaison service between the State Board and the counties. They explained and interpreted; built up cooperative relationships; spread knowledge of successful experiments in other counties; and helped Local Boards work out more humane and effective methods of administration. In several urgent situations, a Field Representative became temporarily the Acting Executive Director in a county and brought necessary reorganization of the local relief administration.

Of equal importance with their service to the counties has been the interpretation to the State Board concerning local situations. Policies to be effective must have a foundation of realism. It has been a continuing responsibility on the part of the Field Representatives to supply the Executive Director of the State Board with the facts which might form the basis of general policies of relief administration.

Comptroller's Division

The Comptroller's Division maintains control of the budget of the State Emergency Relief Board and is responsible for keeping all accounting records of State and Federal unemployment relief funds and their expenditure, excepting, of course, any functions which are the regular responsibility of the Auditor General and the State Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The Comptroller's Division establishes and supervises methods of financial control, record keeping, and office management for the Local Boards.

It is evident, that with the expenditures of the State Board and the Local Boards having amounted to approximately $90,000,000.00 from August, 1932, to the present time (November, 1933), a thorough and efficient system of control must be maintained. It is difficult to picture today the conditions under which the accounting control system has evolved.

It must be borne in mind that when the State Board started its operation, there was a general belief that its work would terminate in the Spring of 1933. The appropriations which were made by the Legislature extended to that period.

Moreover, before and during the regular session of the Legislature, which commenced in January and adjourned in May, 1933, there had been considerable controversy as to whether the State Board should be continued as the relief administration. This controversy extended to almost the last day that the Legislature was in session in May, 1933.

Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to appreciate that the State Board was extremely loath to build an organization adequate to handle the business of the Board.

At the outset, the Board hoped to decentralize its operations very much more than later appeared practicable. Consequently, the accounting organization for the first several months of operation consisted of a very inadequate staff.

Furthermore, as is stated in Chapter VII of this report, most of the Local Boards attempted to operate with a volunteer staff in the early months of the relief administration. It was difficult on this basis to obtain the efficient organization necessary for an enterprise of this size.

Even during this period, as the Report will show, the scope of the relief administration was constantly being broadened. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the early stages of the administration, the job was of overwhelming proportions for the limited staff which had been provided. In order to cope with this increasingly complex task, a Comptroller was appointed in March, 1933. This marked the beginning of the development of a standarized accounting system and statistical procedure for the State and Local Boards. The staff of the Comptroller's Division was enlarged as rapidly as possible, in order to install a standard classification of accounts and records.

Within a period of approximately two months from this date, a uniform accounting system was developed. It was thereafter installed without further delay in every County office. During the same period, the unit control system of relief administration was developed on a standardized basis.

Due to the vigorous measures which were taken to install the unit control system of operation throughout the State, the Comptroller's Office was enabled to overcome rapidly the difficulties mentioned above.

Research and Planning Division

This division plans and directs the assembly and interpretation of unemployment relief statistics and other data; devises the methods and prepares the forms which are used by the Local Boards to provide the information required by the State Board and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration; and studies relief activities and problems with a view to improving methods and standards.

The measurement of the accomplishments of unemployment relief activities necessitates collection and analysis of the statistical records of relief activities. Upon the analysis of such records coordination and planning must be based. The research functions of this division have largely been concentrated upon the development of standards for relief grants, procedures for administering relief, and schedules upon which to base relief grants.

Personnel Division

This division examines the qualifications of Local Board employes and applicants for positions, assists the counties in the selection of adequate and capable personnel, classifies county employes according to function, and reviews salary and wage rates.

The contribution of this division to the development of a personnel adequate in numbers and training to administer effectively policies and programs is discussed more fully in Chapter VII dealing with local administration of relief.

Public Relations Division

This division is responsible for acquainting the public with the problems of unemployment relief throughout the Commonwealth and with the program and operations of the State and Local Boards.

Shoes and Clothing Division

This division has charge of storage, maintenance, and distribution of shoes and clothing. It advises Local Boards on sound methods of operation of local centers for such purposes and on the re-habilitation of worn shoes and clothing. It also has charge of all purchases made by the State Board.

The shoes and clothing relief program is discussed in chapter V.

Bureau of Transients

This Bureau, established in conformity with the policies and rulings of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, is developing and administering a state-wide program of relief for transients, and is advising Local Boards in carrying out such a program. The plans for this relief program are described fully in Chapter VI.

Community Market Division

This division has general supervision over the maintenance of community markets or food commissaries. It studies details of operation and advises Local Boards upon sound methods for purchase, storage, and distribution of food supplies.

The policies of the State Board toward, and the development of, the Community Market program are discussed in Chapter IV.

Thrift Garden Division

This division plans and directs the Thrift Garden program. It advises Local Boards upon methods of organizing thrift garden projects and maintains a general supervision over these operations throughout the State.

The nature of the 1933 program, the extent of its development, and the contribution resulting from the program are discussed in Chapter V.

Surplus Products Distribution Division

This division has supervision over the distribution of surplus food and fuel products supplied by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Procedures for distribution and handling by the Local Boards are suggested, and regulations covering their distribution by agencies are made.

Plans for the distribution of surplus food products are discussed in Chapter IV. The distribution of surplus fuel is described in Chapter V.

Medical Care Division

This division supervises a program and procedure whereby medical care is being made available to families receiving unemployment relief. The details and present development thereof are described in Chapter V.

Advisory Committees

From time to time, the State Board has sought the advice and cooperation of outside organizations and has appointed advisory committees of specially qualified citizens to advise with the Board on specific problems affecting the administration of relief. Committees functioning at present are:

1. State Emergency Child Health Committee.

The State Emergency Child Health Committee is widely representative of medical and lay groups and is helping to establish and promote adequate standards for the conservation of the health of children of the unemployed.

2. Committee on Nutrition.

The Committee on Nutrition, composed of specialists in dietetics, is cooperating with the Research and Planning Division in the development of a program for advising and assisting recipients of relief to get the greatest good and value from their food expenditures.

3. Advisory Committee on Purchases.

The Advisory Committee on Purchases is composed of experts who advise the Division of Shoes and Clothing in regard to establishing specifications and methods governing purchases by the State Board.

4. Thrift Garden Advisory Committee

The Thrift Garden Advisory Committee is assisting in the promotion of practical plans for widespread development of garden projects and studies the results of each project throughout the state with a view of formulating policies and standards for subsequent projects.

5. Medical Advisory Committee

The Medical Advisory Committee is assisting in the development of the Medical Relief program which was approved by the State Board on November 16, 1933.

Allied Services

1. State Re-employment Council

As created by the Director of the United States Employment Service, the State Re-employment Council is composed of the Executive Director of the State Emergency Relief Board, the Director of the State Re-employment Service, the Director of the State Employment Service, and the Public Works Administrator in Pennsylvania.

Its function is to plan the development of the re-employment service, which is to be instituted in each county where no State Employment Office now exists.

It is also the function of the Re-employment Council to effect the proper coordination between the State Employment Service, the Re-employment Service, and the State Emergency Relief Administration.

The State Employment Service and the Re-employment Service are the agencies through which individuals will be selected for employment on all Federal Public Works and Federal Civil Works projects.

The Public Works Administration has made funds available for the employment of the office personnel which is maintained in Harrisburg by the

State Re-employment Director. The Federal Relief Administration has made funds available for the establishment of local re-employment offices.

2. Civil Works Administration

The purpose of the Federal Civil Works Administration is to provide regular work at regular wages for approximately four million persons able and willing to work. This program, in Pennsylvania, will mean the re-employment of approximately three hundred thousand men and women between November 20, 1933, and February 15, 1934. The Board of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works has allocated four hundred million dollars for this purpose. In addition, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration has allocated fifty million dollars, and it is expected that State and local government units will make an additional fifty million dollars available for carrying on this major offensive against unemployment and poverty.

In essence, the program aims to put persons to work, to create purchasing power, and thus to give an impetus to business and general employment. A correlative effect of this program will be the creation of public works that are socially and economically desirable to the community and to the nation.

Organization of the Local Boards[1]

County organization and coordination has been developed through County or Relief Area Emergency Relief Boards. The Local Board acts as the representative of the State Board in the administration of State and Federal Emergency Relief Funds in their respective counties or areas. The power of the Local Board is derived entirely from the State Board. The primary function of each Local Board is to develop with the approval and under the direction of the State Board, well coordinated county-wide plans for sound administration of emergency relief funds. The Local Board is responsible for seeing that persons in need are assisted in accordance with the standards of care and treatment approved by the State Board and that State and Federal funds are administered humanely as well as economically.

The members of the Local Board are appointed by the State Board and serve without compensation. Regular meetings of the Board are held frequently.

The administrative officer for a Local Board is the Executive Director. The Executive Director may be a paid employe, a loaned official, or a volunteer, but in no case may he be a member of the Local Board. The Executive Director acts as general manager of the Local Board in relation to its entire program of service and administration, and is in direct charge of the staff and bureau of the Local Board.

Each Local Board has also a supervisor, trained and experienced in family case work, who supervises all workers engaged in interviewing, investigating, and determining the needs of applicants for relief.

There is also an Auditor, whose function is to maintain all records of account, to establish fiscal control, and to keep other prescribed records. While the Auditor is responsible to the Local Executive Director, he also keeps in direct contact with the Comptroller of the State Board in order that there may be a proper coordination of the accounting functions.

There can be no fixed rule to determine the exact number of supervisors, visitors, interviewers, or clerical assistants needed in a given Local Organization. Experience has proven that an adequate and competent personnel is the key to the economical and efficient use of relief funds.

The Unit Control System

The "Unit Control System" of organization has been made mandatory by the State Board. Under this system there is a central administrative office for the Local Board. There are also district offices and application centers as needed to meet the requirements in each particular locality, but all such district offices are an integral part of the Local Board. This sys-

[1] Originally, a Board was established in each county and called a County Emergency Relief Board. Later, some counties were consolidated into a Relief Area. The Board of each of these units is hereafter referred to as "Local" Boards.

FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION
OF THE

STATE EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD

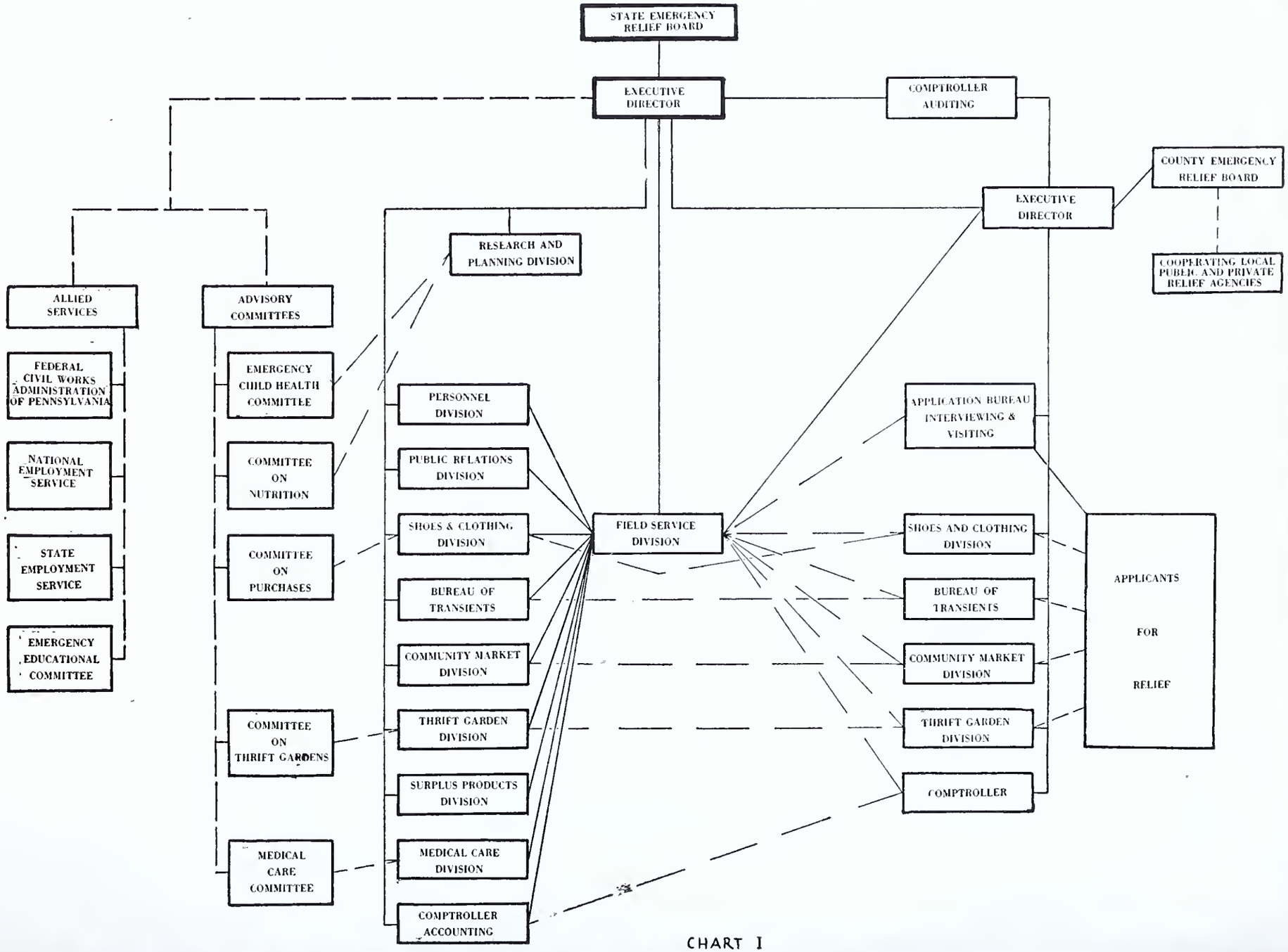

CHART I

tem centralizes the supervision and regulation of relief disbursements in the office of the Local Board in the following manner:

1. Investigation of relief needs and issuance of relief orders by the staff of the Local Board only.

2. Maintenance of adequate centralized accounting and statistical records necessary for proper budgetary control.

3. Centralization of all relief activities, case records, and accounting control in the administrative office of the Local Board.

The Relief Area

In order to accomplish greater economy and efficiency in relief administration the local administration of relief is now being further centralized into district organizations composed of two or more counties. This policy is directed particularly to the less densely populated counties. As an experiment, the counties of Northumberland, Union, Snyder, Montour, and Columbia were consolidated into a Relief Area. The experiment was adjudged successful in that it demonstrated that operation was more economical and that greater efficiency was obtained. It has been planned, therefore, to consolidate many of the less densely populated counties of the State into relief areas.

The administrative organization for a Relief Area is similar to that for a County. There is a Relief Area Executive Board, composed of one representative from each county, which has the same power and function as a County Board. The County Boards in these consolidated counties no longer exercise administrative functions but remain in existence to act solely in an advisory capacity. The administrative staff of the Relief Area is organized similarly to the staff of the County Boards. Unit control of the relief activities in the Relief Area will be practiced as was true for the county organization.

Since the first consolidation, several others have been effected. The desired results appear to have been largely obtained in each case.

The local administration of relief and the standards under which it is being carried out are described in Chapter VII.

The organization and functional relationships of the State and County Boards are illustrated on Chart I on the opposite page.

Chapter IV

The Relief Program—Food Relief

General Relief Policies

At the outset of the relief program of the State Emergency Relief Board, it was contemplated that food would constitute the only type of relief to be supplied from State and Federal funds. Other relief needs were considered at that time as being a local responsibility. It was natural, therefore, that the first statements of relief policies of the State Board were primarily concerned with the granting of food relief.

On September 1, 1932, the Board expressed the following principles in the form of a resolution:

> 1. All relief shall be distributed on the sole basis of actual need to persons who have been residents of Pennsylvania, as required by law, for one year, regardless of race, color, religion, citizenship, or politics.
>
> 2. No relief shall be given to any person who has been offered work, on relief work projects, that he or she can do and has refused to do.
>
> 3. All funds received must be expended solely for food orders, work relief, or other forms of actual relief.
>
> 4. Each County Emergency Relief Board will be directly responsible for carrying out the policies and decisions of the State Emergency Relief Board.

The evolution of relief policies since September 1, 1932, has been influenced by rapid changes in relief needs and conditions; by the development of a staff of skilled, experienced personnel to administer and supervise the relief activities of the State Emergency Relief Board; by the receipt of funds from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, with rules and regulations and sometimes specific instructions or limitations concerning the use of Federal funds; and by changes in the abilities or willingness of local governmental units and local private relief and welfare agencies to contribute to State emergency relief activities.

At present virtually all unemployment food relief in Pennsylvania is supplied by the State Emergency Relief Board. Grants of food relief are made by two methods:

> 1. The Food Order System whereby a food order for a stated amount is issued to the relief recipient who may use it to purchase from any vendor in Pennsylvania foodstuffs in the amount shown on the face of the order.
>
> 2. The Community Market System by which foodstuffs are purchased wholesale by the Local Board or its accredited agent and are furnished in the form of fixed rations to recipients of unemployment relief. This system is in use in only a few counties.

FOOD ORDERS

The Food Order System

Until the last few months, it has not been possible, with the limited funds available, to give all the food needed for a complete and satisfactory diet. The urgency of meeting the most distressing needs existing at the time the State Board started its work necessitated that food orders be issued without adequate investigation. The policy of the State Board in this respect was expressed, as early as September 8, 1932, declaring:

> "It is of greatest importance that persons not entitled to relief should be prevented from securing food orders ... But the State Emergency Relief Board urges Local Boards, in all coun-

ties where there is pressing and immediate distress, to cut red tape, omit for the time being lengthy procedure which holds up the giving of relief, postpone until a later period time-consuming, minute investigations of applicants for help, and see that the hungry are fed at the earliest possible moment."

It was expected that, after this first emergency was met, the necessary investigations and steps could be undertaken to prevent duplication of relief and to eliminate all ineligible applicants. But at best, this could not be adequately accomplished until the County Boards could provide the personnel staff necessary to conduct the case investigations and an organization to provide central control over their activities.

Table 1

Average Food Grant Per Case Each Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

Months	*Dollars*
September, 1932	7.23
October, 1932	10.61
November, 1932	11.85
December, 1932	13.14
January, 1933	12.93
February, 1933	12.31
March, 1933	14.06
April, 1933	12.71
May, 1933	14.43
June, 1933	14.52
July, 1933	13.99
August, 1933	16.61
September, 1933	16.40
October, 1933	16.29

The administration of food relief has shown tremendous gains since September 1, 1932. In the early months of the Board's operation, the administration of food relief was unsatisfactory in many respects. The emphasis placed upon providing relief without proper investigation was commendable under the circumstances. It did lead, however, to spreading relief funds over a large proportion of the population with consequent inadequacy for those in greatest need. The insistence of the State Board that local governments furnish all funds needed for administration further encouraged this tendency. As a result, food relief was granted with but inadequate relation to family composition and income. The trend in the average food grant is shown on Chart II (See following page) and Table I.

The Standard Food Relief Schedule

By the early summer of 1933, the food relief program had shown rapid improvement. More nearly adequate personnel in the local offices had resulted in improving the machinery for the determination, not only of the family's eligibility, but also of the extent of the need for food relief. With the removal of persons ineligible for unemployment relief from the relief rolls, it was possible to begin increasing the average food grant per family.

More rapid progress in some counties than in others led to large discrepancies in the scale of food relief given in different counties. The basic food grants ranged all the way between $.60 and $1.80 per single individual per week, and from $.25 to $1.25 for each additional family member per week. Under these conditions the need for some method of granting food on a uniform basis throughout the State was recognized. How to decide what to give families of different size and composition, how to relate the amount of the food order to the size of the family were real problems.

During the summer of 1933, the formulation of a State-wide standard food scale was undertaken by the State Emergency Relief Board. With the assistance and consultation of dietitians and physicians, adequate balanced food diets were prepared for adults and children of varying ages. The following tabulation, Table 2, shows the various foods and their quantities which were approved as constituting an adequate balanced food budget for an adult, for a

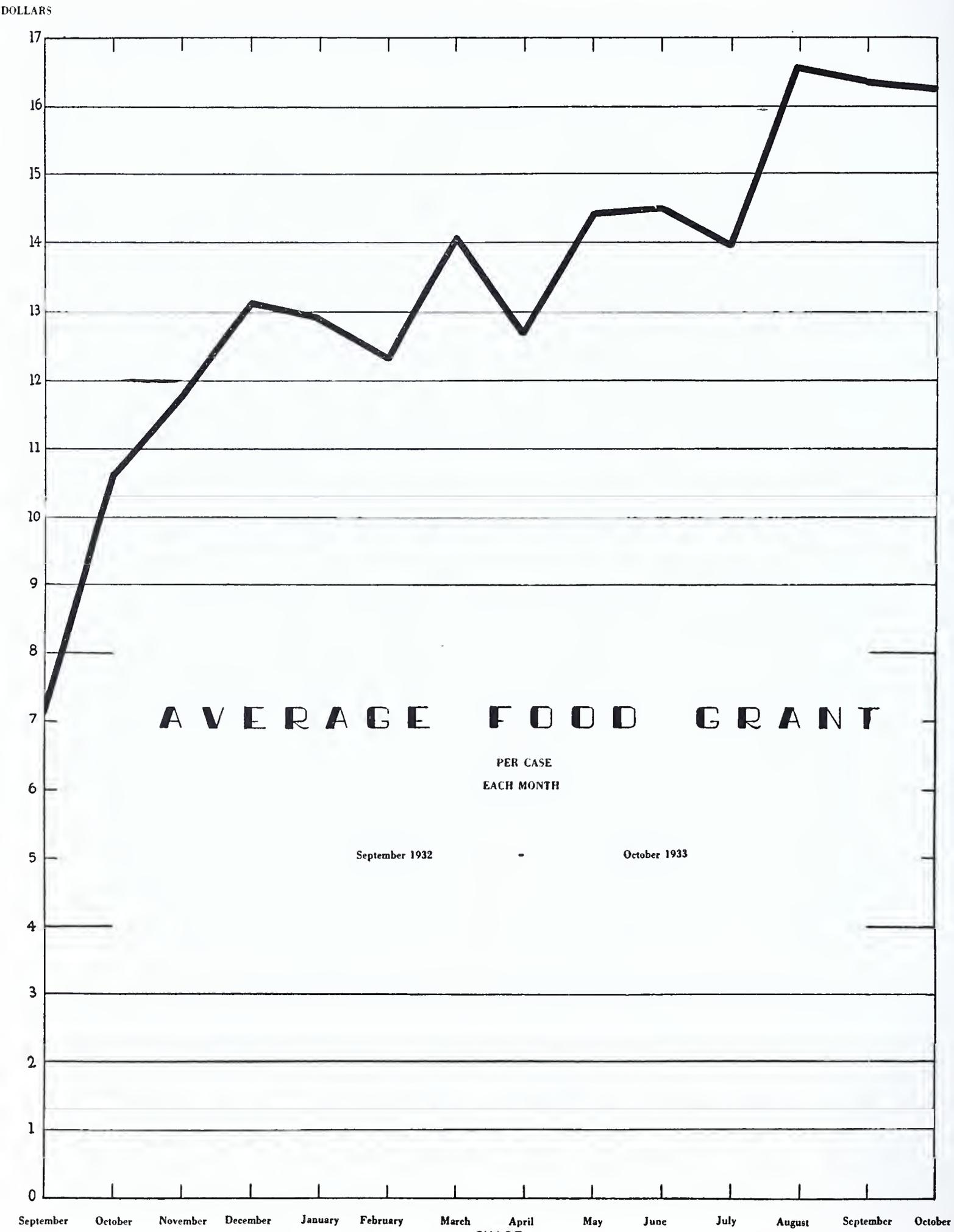
DOLLARS
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
AVERAGE FOOD GRANT
PER CASE
EACH MONTH
September 1932 - October 1933
September
October
November
December
January
February
March
April
May
June
July
August
September
October

CHART II

child six to twelve years of age, and for a child under six years of age, for a period of one week:

Table 2

Minimum Food Budget

Food Item	Quantity 1 Adult	Quantity 1 Child (6 to 12 Years Old)	Quantity 1 Child (Under 6 yrs. Old)
Milk	4 tall cans	3½ Qts.	3½ Qts.
Meat	1¼ Lbs.	¾ Lb.	½ Lb.
Bread	2 Lb. Loaves	2 Lb. Loaves	1 Lb. Loaf
Spaghetti	¼ Lb.	¼ Lb.	----------
Corn Meal	½ Lb.	½ Lb.	----------
Oatmeal	1 Lb.	1½ Lbs.	1 Lb.
Rice	½ Lb.	½ Lb.	½ Lb.
Potatoes	2½ Lbs.	2 Lbs.	2 Lbs.
Cabbage	1 Lb.	1½ Lbs.	1 Lb.
Onions	½ Lb.	½ Lb.	½ Lb.
Carrots	1 Lb.	½ Lb.	½ Lb.
Beans	1 Lb.	½ Lb.	----------
Tomatoes	1 #2 Can	1 #2 Can	1 #2 Can
Dried Apricots	½ Lb.	----------	----------
Apples	2 Lb.	1 Lb.	½ Lb.
Lard	¼ Lb.	----------	----------
Butter	¼ Lb.	¼ Lb.	¼ Lb.
Peanut Butter	½ Lb.	¼ Lb.	¼ Lb.
Sugar	½ Lb.	½ Lb.	----------
Syrup	¼ Lb.	----------	¼ Lb.
Molasses	¼ Lb.	----------	----------
Cheese	¼ Lb.	----------	----------
Eggs	¼ Doz.	½ Doz.	½ Doz.

Using the above tabulation as a basis the quantities of food needed for families of varying composition and size were determined.

The next step was to obtain retail prices on the food items listed and determine the costs of purchasing the foods for families of varying size and composition. The costs of purchasing the food budgets thus determined were used to prepare standard food relief schedules which are being put into operation throughout the State as rapidly as the administrative setup in the counties is improved to a sufficient extent to enable the standard food relief schedule to be applied.

At the present time forty-five counties are using the standard schedule, and within the next few weeks all counties of the State will be using the new standard food relief schedule.

Defects of the Food Order System

Among the defects which have grown out of the food order system of furnishing relief have been the following:

1. Those who have received food orders have had no opportunity to move around from store to store in order to take advantage of special sales prices on items featured by various merchants in the same community. The food order must be redeemed for its entire amount at one store. The amount which the food order would buy, in many such cases, has been considerably less than the value in foodstuffs which it would have been possible to obtain where purchases could be made at several stores.

2. Identification of a family by the community at large as being "on relief" is undoubtedly more definite where some member must enter the local grocery store and present a relief order with neighbors looking on. It has not been uncommon to find, consequently, certain individuals attempting to wait until the store is cleared of other customers before making their purchases. The damage done to the self-respect of the unemployed as a consequence of the inability to maintain independently one's self and one's family, which is sometimes further increased by the attitude of the storekeeper, is one of the results of this period of depression from which we will not recover quickly. This difficulty would be effectively overcome by providing cash relief.

3. Certain abuses relating to collusion with vendors to get unapproved articles or cash in return for the food order or to apply the food order to payment of back bills have been practically eliminated at the present time.

The Place of the Food Order in an Emergency Relief Program

What can be said for a system which, for the most part, provides relief in kind only? Mainly this—it meets the need of a fundamental instinct—self-preservation. On the other hand, it is able to give little or no consideration to other needs almost as important to the individual as being kept alive. Relief of any kind is an evidence of failure of the system under which we live—a palliative which does not get below the surface needs. Real work at real wages, as employment and not relief; a profitable market for the farmer's products, so that he, in turn, can buy the products of industry;

these are the only developments which will obviate the necessity for providing food by one means or another to the unemployed and their dependents. It must be said, however, that with more adequate provision for determining the needs of the unemployed, food relief could be provided much more satisfactorily both to the recipient and to society by cash allowances than by food orders.

The progress during the past year in the food relief program can be shown in no more effective manner than in Chart II, Table I which show the average food grant per case, per month, during the last fourteen months.

COMMUNITY MARKETS

Development of the Community Market Program

It was probably inevitable that the subject of community markets or commissaries should be given prominent attention soon after the distribution of food orders was started on a large scale. The advantages of quantity buying and regulated diets were too obvious to escape notice, particularly in the face of the faults and abuses connected with the distribution of food orders.

Considerable discussion concerning the matter took place, pro and con, over the State, and at one time the State Board announced its intention of setting up community markets "in metropolitan sections and the larger population centers of the Commonwealth."

Tentative plans were prepared, following a study of similar operations in other states, which embodied the following principles:

1. Purchase of food-stuff in bulk.
2. Separate rations especially adapted for adult, adolescent, and child.
3. Combining in the rations, foods which both in quantity and quality give all that is needed for child, adolescent and adult.
4. Preparation of the rations in unit lots.
5. Demonstration of how to cook the rations, with explanation of why it gives the food elements people need.
6. Maintenance of a nutrition center, under the supervision of public health nurses cooperating with physicians designated by the local county Medical Society.

Considerable emphasis was placed on the inability of many of the relief recipients to select the most nourishing food stuffs as they presented their food order at the grocery store, and reports were compiled on the feeding of under-nourished children, and on the extent of malnutrition in the State.

An Advisory Committee on Community Markets and Malnutrition was formed and a Community Market Division was incorporated in the administrative staff of the State Board, while a nutrition specialist was employed to advise in establishing dietary standards. This was followed on January 18, 1933, by a re-statement of policy on the part of the State Board, which stated in part:

> "The State Emergency Relief Board has approved the Community Market System wholly as a means made necessary by one of the greatest emergencies the Commonwealth has ever had heretofore.
>
> "The fullest amount of money for which we can hope will be insufficient to meet the need. Under the present store order system the money available to the Board, or likely to be available to the Board, cannot possibly be stretched to cover the needs of our people.
>
> "But with the Community Market System carefully administered, there will be something left for other needs, such as fuel, clothing, shoes and medicine.
>
> "The Board is not unmindful that the Community Markets will not contribute to the relief of local retail stores. It recognizes and appreciates the service these stores have rendered in carrying their customers, but this and all other claims must be weighed against the rapidly increasing number which must be cared for, the impossibility of securing adequate funds to meet their increasing needs, and the human cry for relief."

Objections to the Community Market Plan

Meanwhile increasing opposition and objections were heard against establishing such a system of markets. Most vehement were the newspapers, Chambers of Commerce, unemployed groups, many social workers, trade organizations and the huge body of retail grocers and their circle of influence, claiming the result would be a dislocation of trade.

The arguments most frequently advanced against the commissary system are as follows:

1. It makes inadequate allowance for differences in food preferences arising from custom, nationality and race, or mere choice.

2. It causes waste because family and individual needs and ability to consume particular food items vary.

3. It results in diverting trade from normal channels and therefore tends to further depress industry and trade; whereas relief purchases spent in normal business channels stimulate industry and trade. It is, therefore, at cross purposes with the entire recovery program.

4. Its apparent economy is only partially real because the markets were often operated on a work relief basis in which there is some element of exploitation and uneconomic competition. Furthermore, expenditures for equipment and administration were often not taken into consideration in determining the true cost of furnishing such relief. Even when equipment and administration were loaned by private citizens such costs should be considered as part of the cost to society.

5. The commissary system is more humiliating to the recipient. Relief recipients are often required to travel excessive distances to obtain their provisions.

Present Policy toward Community Markets

Because of these objections and because of difficulties in the proper administration of Community Markets, their establishment did not take place as rapidly as had been anticipated. After several months, the State Board relinquished its former stand. While it did not expressly condemn the system, it did not encourage the development of additional markets.

Present Status of the Community Markets

At one time, community markets or commissaries were operated in seventeen counties. Ten of these counties have since ceased to operate markets and those in another county are being liquidated.

While the Community Market plan has proven to be relatively successful in some of the areas in which it has been tried, experience has conclusively shown that the plan is not suitable for general widespread use throughout the State.

MILK RELIEF

Early Distribution of Milk

Prior to the inception of the State Emergency Relief Board, a system of milk distribution in certain communities had been instituted by the Department of Health to administer a volunteer relief fund contributed by State Employes. The State Emergency Relief Board, at the time it undertook the administration of emergency relief funds, deemed it advisable to request the State Department of Health to extend and expand its existing machinery and to distribute milk to needy, under-nourished children throughout the State.

In September, 1932, the State Emergency Relief Board allocated $100,000 from Federal funds to be administered during the month of October by the Department of Health for distribution of milk. Allotments for this purpose have increased and since November, 1932, the monthly grants for this method of milk distribution averaged approximately a half million dollars.

The Department of Health, to administer this form of relief, set up in each county an administrative unit under the direction of a State Nurse detailed for that purpose. A plan of distribution, fitted to the needs of the particular area, was determined and the Bureau of Milk Control of the Department of Health made the necessary arrangements with the local milk industry in each county to insure that regular

supplies of the best milk be furnished at reasonable prices. Eligibility of the individual or of the family for milk relief was determined by the local relief agencies or by the local public health nurse.

As the volume of relief increased, the impracticability of this plan of milk distribution became increasingly apparent. By July 1, 1933, 165,000 families were receiving milk through this system, involving accounts with 2800 dairymen.[1] The record-keeping required of the nurse grew to such proportions as to threaten impairment of the more important function of the Public Health Service.

State Emergency Relief Board Assumes Distribution of Relief Milk

These factors, together with the desire of the State Board to regulate and standardize the distribution of all forms of relief through a properly coordinated system of unit control in each county, led to the decision by the State Board to assume distribution of relief milk beginning September 1, 1933. The distribution of milk is now included as a part of the food relief program.

SURPLUS FOOD PRODUCTS

The Federal Program for Surplus Food Products Distribution

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has developed a program, in cooperation with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, wherein various agricultural commodities will be made available to the States for distribution to unemployment relief recipients. Purchase of these commodities, principally pork and wheat, is made by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration which turn the products over to the Surplus Food Corporation, a subsidiary of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, for distribution as additional relief to the various states.

Public announcements of this program were made on October 18, 1933. It was announced also that the entire food industry would lend its hearty cooperation in this project. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration recommended that each State provide for a procedure for distribution of these commodities in the State. The Pennsylvania State Board, therefore, developed a "Surplus Products Distribution Division" as a part of its administrative organization.

Pennsylvania Plans for Surplus Food Products

A committee, composed of representatives of the various distributors affected by this program, has been formed. This committee has met and considered a program acceptable to all present, except for certain details concerning accounting and control procedure for the handling of this surplus food.

The plan is built around the use of the present channels of distribution. Among the first problems involved was the selection of wholesale and retail outlets. The Federal recommendations as to financial responsibility, adequate service facilities, adequate coverage, adequate storage and delivery facilities, and the fact that for control purposes the number of distributors was limited as much as possible. As an aid to the selection of retail distributors, a check was made of the distribution of families on relief in each county. The retail outlets are being selected, so that the recipients on relief will not have to travel an excessive distance to secure the surplus foods.

Final selection of distributors is being made by the State Emergency Relief Board rather than by the Local Emergency Relief Board. Full consideration is given to all types of retailers, whether they be members of a voluntary chain, or unattached independent unit retailers. The final selection rests entirely upon the ability of the vendors to render the necessary services required as outlined above. This is entirely in line with Federal recommendations.

Distribution of Surplus Foods up to the Present Time

A single commodity, salt pork, has been the only product which has thus far been distri-

[1] Minutes of Conference on Milk Distribution held in State Emergency Relief Board Offices, July 12, 1933. Report by Shroat, H. E., Pennsylvania Department of Health, Bureau of Milk Control.

buted. This distribution has been made entirely through State Community Markets located at York, Altoona, Erie, Lancaster, Lewistown, and New Castle. A small quantity has also been sent to the National Guard Camp at Mount Gretna where a camp for transients and homeless has been established. It is intended to continue the distribution of surplus food commodities through Community Markets along with the retail distribution.

Chapter V

The Relief Program—Other Types of Relief

FUEL RELIEF

First Grants of Fuel Relief

In October, 1932, the State Board adopted a policy which permitted the Local Boards to provide direct relief in the form of fuel not to exceed 5% of the amount allocated to them for food relief. When this action was taken there was but a limited amount of funds available and the Board recorded its opinion that the provision for fuel relief was a local responsibility.

This grant for fuel proved insufficient to meet even the most acute needs and by December, 1932, permission was given to increase the amount available for fuel relief to 10% of the amount allocated to a county for food relief. Later, in January of 1933, the Board authorized that the amounts to be made available for fuel relief be increased upon application of Local Boards subject to the recommendation of the Executive Director of the State Board.

Federal Program for Surplus Fuel Distribution

This method of granting fuel relief will soon be supplemented by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration which is developing a plan for the purchase of coal and placing it at the disposal of the State Emergency Relief Administration for distribution to meet emergency needs.

A plan for handling Pennsylvania's allocation of surplus coal is now being devised. The plan tentatively proposed is that orders for coal will be issued by Local Boards as they have been in the past. Retail dealers will honor these fuel orders out of their present stocks. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration will, in turn, replace dealer stocks with direct shipments from the mines. The State Board will be required to pay only for the dealers handling and delivery charges under this plan. When the final details of this plan are determined and approved, it will be possible to make immediate distribution of sufficient coal for relief purposes.

SHOES AND CLOTHING RELIEF

The Need for Shoes and Clothing

A survey, late in 1932, of the conditions among the unemployed throughout the State showed that there was a widespread need for both shoes and clothing. The American Red Cross was distributing substantial quantities of clothing and cloth and counties were gathering, fumigating, and reconditioning used garments in many sections of the State. Between the rehabilitated clothing and that supplied by the Red Cross, there was a sufficient quantity of clothing available to meet only the most urgent needs. Moreover, because of limited funds, the State Board could not, during the winter of 1932-33, expend any money for clothing. Furthermore, there was almost a complete lack of local revenue to provide shoes. Consequently, the Board deemed it advisable to use all available funds for the purchase of shoes and accordingly $500,000 was allocated out of the Federal funds for this purpose.

The Cost of Shoe Purchases

The following tabulation gives the cost of shoes purchased prior to August, 1933:

Table 3

Expenditures of the Funds Allocated to the Shoe and Clothing Division by the State Emergency Relief Board Ending August 31, 1933

Amounts Allocated	$1,891,250.00	
Total Number of Pairs of Shoes Purchased	----------	1,222,955
Total Cost	$1,421,874.02	
Average Cost Per Pair	$ 1.163	
Total Number of Pairs Shipped	----------	602,358
Cost of Buying and Distributing to the Counties	$ 25,837.36—3.68%	
(a) Warehouse Personnel	$ 8,560.48—1.22%	
(b) Harrisburg Personnel	$ 5,226.00— .74%	
(c) Inbound Freight to Central Warehouse	$ 6,707.86— .96%	
(d) Outbound Freight to the Counties	$ 4,476.75— .64%	
(e) Other Expense, including insurance, supplies, etc.	$ 866.27— .12%	
Average Cost per Pair Delivered to Counties	$ 1.203	
Approximate Balance on Hand as of 8-31-33	$ 644,693.40	

(Balance on Hand is reserved for committments for future delivery.)

Distribution to the Counties

Shoes were first distributed to the counties on the basis of the number of families on relief. It was found, however, by actual experience that this method was not entirely satisfactory. The next distribution of shoes was made on the basis of actual need rather than upon the basis of the percentage of families on relief. The number of shoes distributed to the counties is shown in Table A-12 in the appendix. Rubber footwear is now also being distributed.

Shoe Repair Shops

A number of the counties have set up shoe repair shops for the repairing of shoes. In Philadelphia County approximately 400 pairs of shoes are repaired each day.

It is planned to establish some method of shoe repairing in every county. The repairing of shoes for the unemployed will effect a definite saving in the distribution of new shoes.

Clothing

On November 16, 1933, the State Emergency Relief Board appropriated $500,000.00 for the purchase of clothing. All types of clothing will be purchased and distributed. Distribution will be made in accordance with the need.

MEDICAL CARE

The conservation and maintenance of the public health is a primary function of government. In this emergency, the ingenuity of local relief officials has been taxed to conserve available public funds and, at the same time, to give adequate relief to those in need. The result was that the burden of rendering medical care to the unemployed had fallen largely upon private physicians. In addition to their service, supplies and medicines were often contributed. The State Board realizing the need for a uniform policy for providing adequate medical care in the home as a part of unemployment relief, has established a Medical Relief program, the essence of which is:

(a) An agreement by the relief administration to recognize within legal and economic limitations, the traditional family and family-physician relationship in the authorization of home medical care for persons receiving unemployment relief, the traditional physician-nurse relationship in the authorization of bedside nursing care, the traditional dentist-patient relationship in the authorization of emergency dental care; and

(b) An agreement by the physician, nurse (or nursing organization), and dentist to furnish the same type of service to persons receiving unemployment relief as would be rendered to a private patient, but that such authorized service shall be charged for at an agreed rate which makes due allowance for the conservation of relief funds.

The common aim in this program is good medical service at a low cost to the mutual benefit of the unemployed, physicians, nurses, dentists, pharmacists, and the public.

The purpose of the program is to augment and render more adequate facilities already existing in the community for the provision of medical care by the medical, nursing, and dental professions for the unemployed.

It is predicated upon continuance of the use of hospitals and clinics and medical, dental and nursing services already established in the community and paid for, in whole or in part, from

local or State funds, in accordance with local statutes or charter provisions. Federal Emergency Relief funds are not to be used in lieu of local or State funds to pay for such established services.

The phrase "home medical care" is to be interpreted to include office service for ambulatory patients, with the understanding that such office service shall not supplant the service of clinics or dispensaries already provided in the community.

Medical Advisory Committee

The State Emergency Relief Board appointed an advisory committee to assist in maintaining proper professional standards in the provision of adequate medical care to persons receiving unemployment relief and in enlisting the cooperation of county medical societies through similar county committees in this program. The State or county advisory committee consults with the State or local relief administration, respectively, with regard to disputed problems of medical policy and practice.

Scope of Participation

Participation in the medical program is open to all physicians licensed to practice medicine in the State of Pennsylvania subject to local statutory limitations. Physicians, nurses, dentists, and pharmacists, who are licensed and registered to practice their respective professions in the State of Pennsylvania are authorized to participate in the provision of medical care for unemployed persons in their homes.

Scope of the Medical Relief Program

Persons to receive medical care must be eligible for relief because of unemployment. While it is not intended to increase the public expense where medical aid is now provided for the unemployed, it is intended to provide such aid from public funds in cases where adequate medical relief is not now being given and to relieve private physicians heretofore compelled to bear the burdens themselves without compensation. General institutional care is not provided but medicines, medical supplies, medical attendance in the home, bedside nursing, and emergency dental service are within the scope of the relief program.

An attempt is made to have medical care supplied by the patient's own (or previous) physician. This policy allows freedom of choice and tends to maintain traditional family-physician relationships.

THE THRIFT GARDEN PROGRAM

Inception of the Program

Early in January, 1933, plans were discussed for initiating a State-wide thrift garden plan. The idea was not new since programs were developed in several counties with considerable success during the preceding depression year. The initial discussions were followed by the formation, in February, 1933, of an Advisory Committee which assisted in developing a practical working plan and advised the Thrift Garden Division on technical agricultural problems and problems of organization.

By late February, an explanatory letter and general instructions were sent to all local boards. They were asked to cooperate in developing local programs and advised, that due to the variations of conditions in the counties and the lateness of the season, the determination of the types of gardens and the methods of carrying out the program were to be left largely to the discretion of each county.

Development of the Program

The State Board in March, 1933, allocated $700,000.00 from available Federal funds to finance the program. Grants to counties, in turn, were made on the basis of a careful estimate of the number of families on relief desiring to plant gardens. It was provided that the only items which could be charged against the grants would be vegetable seeds, plants, fertilizer, approved insecticides and plowing. Total expenditures at the end of the season amounted to $428,822.03. These items, however, covered only a part of the expenses involved. Suitable land had to be secured, plots of available land had to be surveyed and divided into individual garden plots, and clearing and grubbing the

land was necessary in some instances. City, or county engineers, civic organizations, individuals, local relief agencies, county agricultural agents, vocational agricultural teachers and field supervisors have all contributed to the success of the projects. One of the greatest donations has been in the time and effort of men and women serving without compensation on County Garden Committees.

The first instructions limited the registration of families who desired to plant gardens to those receiving relief. Later, it was decided to grant this form of relief to other unemployed persons who were unable to provide the needed garden materials. About 20% of the 340,530 families planting gardens were receiving no food relief at the time of registration. The opinion has been expressed by many in contact with the thrift garden program that participation in the projects by this group prevented or delayed their application for food relief.

The Cost of the Program

An analysis of expenditures and a check of the number of families planting gardens shows that in no county did the cost of gardens exceed the average of $2.50 per garden, the limit set in the grant of funds. The average for the whole state was $1.26 per garden. Every effort was put forth to make available funds reach as far as possible. Plowing costs were far lower than anticipated since the majority of gardeners dug their own plots and in some instances plowing was contributed by the Poor Boards or civic organizations. Seed purchases were carefully planned and seed firms supplied assortments of fourteen to sixteen vegetable seeds at prices far below the usual retail price. Some counties raised their own plants, thereby cutting costs, while others purchased seed in bulk and packaged it by relief labor, again effecting a saving.

The counties generally took pride in the economy with which they handled the program. The statement below for Lebanon County is used because it is close to the state average and typical of the majority of counties:

Statement of Garden Costs to July 26, 1933

Receipts from State appropriation		$3,087.50
Disbursements:		
Seed	$ 646.80	
Fertilizer	465.60	
Bags, etc.	27.87	
Plowing charges	26.80	
Cabbage plants	173.08	
Tomato & other plants	284.40	
Insecticides	86.10	
Total	$1,710.65	
Unused balance	1,376.85	
		$3,087.50
Total number of gardens		1236
Average cost per garden		$ 1.38

Types of Thrift Garden Projects

Community gardens and "home" or back-yard gardens were the two main types of projects in Pennsylvania. A community garden was a large tract of land sub-divided into family gardens of 2,500 to 5,000 sq. ft. each. This type predominated in those counties, in which it was difficult for the individual to obtain land. The home, or back yard garden, was most common in rural counties. Each has its advantages and disadvantages. Supervision and control is nearly impossible with back yard gardens but, since they are chiefly in a section in which the people have had garden experience, this objection is minimized. The community gardens can be more readily supervised and a spirit of cooperation and competition maintained. This spirit of group action and cooperation has been one of the most valuable developments of the program. In either type, the success of the garden depends upon the efforts and work of the individual.

The community and home gardens both involved individual ownership and responsibility. The gardener profited largely in proportion with the time and effort he expended. In contrast with these, the cooperative type of project was developed with varying degrees of success. The most successful programs of this type were organized and carried out by the unemployed and were not "made work", or work relief projects. One in Mercer County was developed as a camp by boys who could not be

accommodated at Civilian Conservation Corps Camps, another in Schuylkill County by miners, many of whom had not worked for two years. The remarkable results achieved were due to hard work, enthusiasm, good leadership and the fact that these projects were their own and were developed according to their own ideas. The products raised were shared by those who produced them as well as by other needy unemployed in the vicinity. Canning and preserving was extensively carried on by these groups.

Financial Return of Thrift Gardens

Yields of the gardens varied greatly due to differences in soil, weather conditions and the ability and effort expended by the gardeners. The average retail value of the yield per garden for the entire state was $24.85. There were 340,540 gardens planted. Seven counties failed to submit final reports and the figure for the number of families planting gardens in those counties was computed on the basis of registration data submitted at the beginning of the season. The estimated retail value of the total yield was $8,463,563.67. This figure does not include returns from the seven counties mentioned above or from seven other counties that failed to present an estimate of average yield per garden. In determining the figure of $24.85 the average return per garden for the State, the total value of $8,463,563.67 was divided by 340,530. This total value was obtained by multiplying the number of gardens actually harvested, not the number of families planting the gardens, by the average yield per garden in that county. It is evident that the estimate of total value is very conservative inasmuch as no value is given to the fourteen counties for which no average yield figures were available.

In the majority of the counties the figure for *average yield* per garden has been carefully estimated. It is based on actual production reports from individual gardens in all sections of the county. It is impracticable to present in detail the statistical calculations for these estimates but the accompanying tabulation, Table A-13 of the appendix, describes the basis used for making the estimates. Table A-11 gives the allocation, expenditures, costs and yields of thrift gardens.

The Value of the Thrift Garden Program

The Thrift Garden program proved to be a practical method of helping those who were unemployed to help themselves. Men, women and children worked together cultivating their crops.

The vegetables produced supplemented the unbalanced and generally inadequate diet provided by the food order and aided in the prevention of malnutrition. Outdoor work improved both health and morale. While these advantages cannot be measured in dollars and cents, their value to the State has been great.

Chapter VI

Special Relief Policies and Developments

WORK RELIEF

Emphasis Upon the Program

Work relief is any useful work which is undertaken for the primary purpose of extending aid to the needy unemployed by means of work instead of through direct relief. As with direct relief, work relief is assigned to applicants for relief on the basis of the family or individual need only, taking into account the capacity and general fitness of the individual for such work as may be available.

The Board believed and wished that as much as possible of the State funds should go into work relief projects and each county organization was requested to survey its situation and recommend what proportion of its share of funds should be devoted to work relief projects.

In pursuance of the above stated objective of emergency relief, the State Board declared in a series of resolutions approved March 1, 1933, that its policy would be:

1. No work relief project is to be permitted to substitute for other work available. If, in the slightest degree, work-relief tends to displace workers in regular employment, it is wasted effort and defeats its main purpose.

2. That no work relief projects are permitted except on public work, that is to say, no private person or firm, corporation or association may be the beneficiary of any work relief project.

3. The contribution of unemployment relief funds to work relief projects will be for the payment of wages in the form of food order only; it being the obligation of the local community to supply necessary materials and supplies.

Selection of applicants for placement on work relief projects is in the hands of the County Emergency Relief Boards, following the procedure established to determine the eligibility of applicants for relief.

Compensation Liability for Work Relief Employes

One of the problems which arose concerned compensation liability for workers on relief projects paid from relief funds. In many instances municipalities or other political subdivisions did not wish to assume liability for compensation in case of injury. Since such persons were not directly employed by the State, they were not covered by the State Compensation Liability laws. This situation was only partially remedied by passage of legislation creating the "State Work Relief Compensation Fund" for the purpose of providing compensation to persons who are injured or killed while engaged on work relief projects. Benefits include medical, surgical, hospital and funeral expenses. It was provided that in cases where work relief employes shall be insured by the State Work Relief Compensation Fund, the employer shall pay a premium of twenty-five cents per week per employe, such rate being subject to revision by the State Insurance Commission.

Effect of N.R.A. Code on Work Relief

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration adopted rulings, effective August 1, 1933, specifying maximum hours of work and minimum wage rates for all work relief employes whether paid in cash or kind. These rulings conform to the provisions of the blanket code promulgated by the National Recovery Administration. It was specified, however, that the number of hours of work relief given per

week or per month should be only enough to provide for the relief needs of the family. The regulations of the State Emergency Relief Board were revised to be in harmony with the Federal rulings.

Work Relief Survey Made

Experience with work relief projects early demonstrated that they were of an emergency character and that it would be desirable to formulate a policy for a long time program. The extensive $3,300,000,000 Public Works program emphasized the need of careful study, intelligent planning, and a genuine understanding of all its elements.

The Board authorized, on April 24, 1933, a survey of work relief to give an analysis and interpretation of its place in an emergency relief program. This survey, included as Appendix II, concludes that under present conditions in Pennsylvania any mixing of work and public relief is both socially and economically unsound.

The Work Relief Program in Pennsylvania

The types and kinds of work relief projects undertaken in Pennsylvania are described fully in this Report on Work Relief. Work relief has never assumed a position of importance as expected and hoped by the State Board in its early statements of policy. In summary, however, it may be indicated that the major work relief in Pennsylvania has been in highway construction. A total allocation of $7,233,603.00, beginning in October, 1932, was made to the State Highway Commission for this purpose. Of this amount, $6,485,313.96 has been expended prior to October 31, 1933. The funds allotted to the Highway Department for road construction on a work relief basis have not been used in especially designated work relief projects but have been used to extend all construction projects in conjunction with other funds available for highway construction. These funds placed at the disposal of the Highway Department, however, are recorded in a separate fund and have been used exclusively in the cash payment of common labor. In all cases, there has been close co-operation with the State Emergency Relief Board and it was provided that only persons certified by Local Boards might be employed and paid from this work relief fund. A detailed analysis of the number of persons employed, the periods of employment, and their earnings is not available. Conditions varied in each county and locality so that a policy of employment was determined by consultations between the Local Boards concerned and the State Highway Department. Where unemployment conditions were acute, the general policy has been to give employment to as many persons as possible by staggering work periods. Where unemployment conditions were less acute, the persons employed have been given more steady employment. In all cases, payments of wages have been made in cash at the rates of wages prevailing in the localities where the work was done. The redeeming feature of the entire work relief program, with only a few isolated exceptions, has been found in the projects carried on by the State Highway Department. In this program, the work approximated normal employment at wages paid in cash at the going rates.

The Civil Work Administration and Work Relief

With the inception of the Civil Works program, November 20, 1933, all work relief projects were suspended. The Civil Works program is not a work relief program. Its purpose is to provide real employment on public works at going rates of pay. While it is true that 50% of those employed on Civil Works Administration projects are being drawn from relief rolls, fitness for the job is the final test for employment.

RELIEF TO TRANSIENTS AND HOMELESS

Inception of the Program

On July 26, 1933, the Federal Relief Administration issued a memorandum to all Governors and State Emergency Relief Administrators reminding them of the necessity of developing a program for the care of transients and homeless. It suggests that in any local community there

will be three groups of homeless persons or families:

1. Local homeless residents.
2. State homeless; more than 12 months in the state.
3. Transient homeless; less than 12 months in the state.

All these groups need to be properly and humanely provided for. Groups one and two are provided relief out of both Federal and State funds. Group three is provided relief out of Federal funds. It was deemed desirable, from the point of view of economic administration, that the local programs should be designed to provide relief to the three groups on a uniform basis.

The Pennsylvania Plan

The plan adopted provides for:

1. A central State Bureau, to render advisory service, as a part of the organization of the State Emergency Relief Board.
2. Local and district administrative units to administer relief to transients and homeless. The relief planned will include shelter, food, clothing, medical and health care, work and transportation to place of legal residence or elsewhere when the desirability thereof is established by careful investigation.

The Work of the Bureau of Transients

On August 1, 1933, a Director of the Transient and Homeless Bureau was appointed. Seven counties have established Transient and Homeless Bureaus. A camp for transients has been opened at Mount Gretna. A comprehensive plan is being developed to deal with the special problems of the transient and homeless group.

EMERGENCY EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

The Development of the Program in Pennsylvania

The Emergency Educational Relief program was planned to provide work for unemployed persons capable of teaching and to provide educational and recreational opportunities for adult, unemployed persons. An allocation of funds made by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration on August 19, 1933, made the program possible.

The general purpose of this educational program is to provide constructive employment for unemployed persons who are competent to teach, and at the same time provide socially constructive activities to numerous other adult persons.

The activities carried on include rehabilitation training, courses in agriculture, gardening, etc., citizenship, and English for illiterates, home economics, and recreational courses, and other activities.

Accomplishments of the Program

The accomplishments of the Pennsylvania Emergency Educational program are:

A. Workers Employed.

1. Number of workers employed to October 31, 1933—400.

B. Cooperating Local Agencies.

Parent-Teachers Associations, local branches of the Federation of Women's Clubs of Pennsylvania, local American Legion posts, councils of social agencies, service clubs, Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, church organizations, and labor groups.

C. Counties where the program is now organized: Allegheny, Armstrong, Beaver, Bedford, Berks, Cambria, Carbon, Chester, Clearfield, Crawford, Cumberland, Dauphin, Delaware, Erie, Fayette, Indiana, Lackawanna, Lancaster, Lawrence, Lehigh, Luzerne, Lycoming, Montgomery, Montour, Northampton, Northumberland, Philadelphia, Schuylkill, Somerset, and Washington.

ASSUMPTION OF POOR BOARD AND MOTHERS' ASSISTANCE CASES

Basis of the Policy of the State Emergency Relief Board

The question of policy regarding requests that the State Emergency Relief Board assume the relief work for certain Mothers' Assistance cases

and for certain Poor Districts was acted upon by the State Board. The decisions of the Board were based upon two informal opinions by the Department of Justice. In the first of these, dated June 14, 1933, it was pointed out that the money was appropriated by the State for unemployment relief only and therefore should not be used for persons who were in need of relief for reasons other than unemployment. The opinion held that the local poor boards must continue to bear the responsibility for cases in which the poverty or need arises from causes other than unemployment. This does not mean, of course, that the State Emergency Relief Board and the local boards may not take over any case which has been handled heretofore by the poor boards. Particular cases may be unemployment cases and therefore a proper subject of State relief but it would not be proper for the State Board or a county board to take over wholesale the cases of a poor board.

Policy Toward Poor Board Cases

In view of this opinion, chronic cases on emergency relief rolls are being turned back to the poor boards. In this connection, it was also pointed out that the rules of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration prevented using Federal funds for the relief of poor board cases.

Policy Toward Mothers' Assistance Cases

A similar situation arose concerning cases assisted from Mothers' Assistance Funds in certain counties which had ceased to provide their share of funds as provided in the Mothers' Assistance Act. The informal opinion rendered, under date of October 3, 1933, stated that Mothers' Assistance Funds are provided for the support of needy mothers who have dependent children under the age of sixteen years and whose husbands are either dead or permanently confined in institutions for the insane. Obviously, if funds were not provided under the Mothers' Assistance Act, these families, under ordinary circumstances, would be subjects for poor relief. Their needs arise out of conditions other than unemployment. Therefore, as a general principle the State Emergency Relief Board and the County Emergency Relief Boards may not assume responsibility for cases which have heretofore been cared for by Mothers' Assistance Funds. It was pointed out, however, that this cannot be made a hard and fast rule. In some cases, it may be that the need of the family is more directly the result of the unemployment situation than of the mere fact of the widowhood of the mother. Such cases could properly be assisted by funds of the State Emergency Relief Board.

RELIEF TO STRIKERS

Statement of Policy

Requests from strikers for assistance from emergency relief funds came before the State Board for a statement of policy on several occasions. After careful consideration, the State Board ruled that it would take no part in any industrial dispute and that it would give relief solely on the basis of the merits of the individual case.

Federal Policy

The question as to whether relief should be granted to strikers was a matter of controversy in some sections of the State in the late summer and early fall of 1933, particularly in the bituminous coal areas. The Executive Director of the State Board requested the Federal Relief Administrator to define his policy covering relief to strikers and it was found to be entirely in accord with the earlier ruling of the State Board.

The Federal ruling issued in July 21, 1933, as amended on October 5, 1933, is as follows:

> "The Federal Emergency Relief Administration is concerned with administering relief to the needy unemployed and their families. Each case applying for relief to the local emergency relief agencies should be treated on its merits as a relief case wholly apart from any controversy in which the wage earner may be involved.
>
> "The Federal Emergency Relief Administration will not attempt to judge the merits of labor disputes. State and Federal agencies as well as courts exist which are duly qualified to act as arbiters and adjusters in such disputes.

"Unless it be determined by the Department of Labor that the basis for the strike is unreasonable and unjustified, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration authorizes local relief agencies to furnish relief to the families of striking wage earners after careful investigation has shown that their resources are not sufficient to meet emergency needs."

AMENDMENT NUMBER EIGHT

The Provision of the Amendment

Following demands of the Federal Emergency Administration that Federal Relief funds be matched by local funds, the Legislature on May 26, 1933, appropriated an additional twenty million dollars to the State Emergency Relief Board, contingent on the voters approving an amendment to the Constitution which authorized the borrowing of twenty-five million dollars "to defray the expenses of the State Government for the biennium".

The amendment (Number 8) was presented to the voters on November 7, 1933. Together with the relief funds at issue, the question involved appropriations of about four and a half million dollars to State-aided institutions and hospitals.

During October the passage of the Amendment was widely advocated by a Volunteer Citizens' Committee. The different aspects of the question were presented to the public, together with statements from prominent individuals and resolutions by organizations.

The Policy of the State Emergency Relief Board

The State Board voiced, with but one dissenting vote, its policy toward this Amendment in a resolution approved October 4, 1932. After pointing to the Federal policy of matching State funds for relief purposes, to the need of Pennsylvania to increase the amount which it is contributing, and to the fact that the choice of raising this amount lies between immediate increased taxes or a bond issue, it declared:

"That the State Emergency Relief Board appeals to the people of Pennsylvania to approve this bond issue in order to carry out in good faith the agreement of the Commonwealth under which over $16,000,000 has already been received from the Federal Government, provide indispensable relief for the unemployed, avoid an enormous and immediate increase in the burden upon the taxpayers, and secure greatly needed funds for State-aided institutions and hospitals in every county in Pennsylvania."

Results of the Vote

Amendment Number Eight was adopted by a vote of 1,240,528 for and 349,862 against. There were twelve amendments submitted to the electorate at this time. Amendment Number Eight received the largest "yes" vote, the smallest "no" vote, the largest aggregate vote, and the largest plurality of any amendment.

The outcome of this election assures the continuance of relief during the winter of 1933-34.

Chapter VII

Local Administration and Personnel

Early Policy Regarding Payment of Administration Expenses

At the time the State Board began to function, its attitude toward the use of the funds available for emergency relief activities was expressed in a resolution, approved on October 5, 1932, stating:

> "It is the policy of this Board that every dollar of State and Federal money provided for unemployment relief shall be used directly either for work relief or for providing food for the unemployed, and that none of it shall be used for the payment of administrative expenses except in counties in which neither the public authorities nor subscribers will provide funds for such expenses."

It was further resolved that:

> "This Board direct its officers urgently to request every county of Pennsylvania to endeavor to meet the administrative expenses of the distribution of relief money either through public appropriations or contributions from private sources."

Assumption of Administrative Expenses by the State Board

Continued difficulties were experienced in providing funds for local administration expenses. While virtually all counties sought to meet, in one way or another, the necessary expenses, the results were not, on the whole, impressive and it was recognized by the end of 1932 that many County Boards were finding it impossible to finance the establishment of efficient local relief organizations. The State Board also realized after several months of operation that it was unreasonable to expect that the Local Board's responsibility could be properly discharged if there was a lack of skilled personnel. It was apparent, therefore, that funds had to be made available for this purpose from some source. Upon the State Emergency Relief Board rests the ultimate responsibility for the proper administration of unemployment relief funds throughout the State. The Board, therefore, finally agreed to grant administrative expense funds to the extent that funds for this purpose could not be made available locally.

Rules and regulations covering grants of administrative funds were prescribed. Administrative funds granted to Local Boards may be used for approved expenses only, which includes salaries and wages, postage, transportation and supplies. It is specifically provided that in no case may administration funds be used to defray any expense whatsoever of any agency apart from the Local Board.

Development of Local Administrative Staffs

While much efficient and effective work was accomplished by the staffs of the several Local Boards, it was difficult to establish a satisfactory administrative personnel so long as funds for administrative expenses were totally inadequate. Shortly after the State Board adopted the policy of paying the administrative expenses of the Local Boards, a Personnel Division of the State Board was established for the purpose of recruiting, interviewing, and securing the necessary references, for persons to act as Executive Director and as Supervisors for local emergency relief boards. An analysis of personnel standards soon revealed the necessity of establishing uniform salary standards and personnel policies for the Local Boards. In many cases, the salaries paid had little relation to the work done or to the individual's preparation for that

work. The lack of any uniformity of salaries or required experience was even more evident.

An early step was to establish a scale of salaries for all local employes—giving recognition to accredited experience and to positions of responsibility. Next the employes of Local Boards were re-classified according to this salary scale.

That a staff adequate in both qualifications and numbers is absolutely necessary for the effective and efficient administration of relief stands without question. It has been possible to advance the Pennsylvania program for unemployment relief only to the extent that such staffs have been obtained. Thus, as this improvement has taken place, standards for the administration and conduct of relief have also been improved. It has been possible, also to hasten the adoption of the county plan for "Unit Control" and to bring consolidation of counties into Relief Areas as a means of improving the administration of relief. Both of these developments are described in Chapter III.

Elements of a Sound Relief Program

The State Board, in December, 1932, established the following elements as being requisite to the development of a sound relief program:

1. Adequate investigation to determine the actual relief needs of all applicants.

2. Complete coordination between the Local Board and other relief agencies.

3. The establishment of an office organization sufficient to maintain all necessary records, to provide centralized fiscal control, and to conduct systematic audit of accounts.

Organization for the Conduct of Relief

It is the duty of the visiting staffs to determine eligibility of relief applicants and the amounts of relief needed by them. Standards for the performance of these duties are outlined in general and the activities of the visiting staff are under the direction and supervision of the Supervisor. Failure to fulfill successfully this part of the relief program means failure of the whole relief program.

General Principle of Sound Relief Administration

. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration has established certain fundamental principles which should be observed if there is to be proper relief administration. As expressed in the rules and regulations of the State Board, these principles are:

1. To provide, as nearly as can possibly be done within the limits of the funds available, adequate relief. Determination of adequacy of relief involves:

   A. An estimate of the weekly needs of the individual or family including an allowance for food sufficient to maintain physical well-being, for shelter, the provision of fuel for cooking and for warmth when necessary, medical care, and other necessities. Taxes may be allowed in lieu of allowances for shelter, and not to exceed the normal rent allowance—providing such tax allowance is necessary in order to maintain the shelter or home of the relief recipient.

   B. An estimate of the weekly income of the family, including wages or other cash income, produce of farm or garden, and all other resources.

   C. The relief granted should be sufficient to provide the estimated weekly needs to the extent that the family is unable to do so from its own resources.

2. There should be an adequate number of personnel qualified for their respective duties.

3. Registration records of all local applications for relief should be kept at a central office. This is absolutely necessary if duplication is to be avoided where there is more than one agency, either public or private, administering relief.

4. The minimum investigation shall include a prompt visit to the home; inquiry as to real property, bank accounts, and other financial resources of the family; an interview with at least one recent employer; determination of the ability and agreement of family, relatives, friends, and churches and other organizations to assist—also the liability under the Poor laws of Pennsylvania, of members of a family, or relatives, to assume such support in order to prevent such member becoming a public charge.

5. Investigation shall be made, not only of persons applying directly to the office but also of those reported to it. In this emergency, it is the duty of those responsible for the administration of unemployment relief to seek out persons in need, and to secure the cooperation of clergymen, school teachers, nurses, and organizations that might assist.

6. There must be contact with each family through visits at least once a month, or oftener if necessary.

7. Investigators should not be overloaded with cases. While no exact standard is being set as to the number of cases per worker, a sufficient number of workers are utilized in each local relief district to insure reasonable investigation procedure.

8. Relief should be given only to persons in need of relief, and on the basis of budgetary deficiency established after careful investigation.

9. Duplication of relief must be avoided, and every precaution should be taken to prevent overlapping of relief agencies, both public and private.

10. Frequent and careful reinvestigation should be undertaken at regular intervals in order to establish the continued need of those who are receiving relief in order to determine whether or not some member of the family may have obtained part or full-time work, which would indicate the necessity for cutting down or cutting off of relief. Where adequate staff for investigation is provided, under able direction and supervision, these reinvestigations may be carried out automatically and the relief rolls kept clear of those who do not qualify.

Results of Improved Administration

The assumption of the administrative expenses by the State Board has resulted in the development of more adequate staffs for the effective conduct of relief work. Favorable results arising from this administration are amply demonstrated in the following sample cases selected as illustrations of the effect of transferring the administration of unemployment relief from unpaid volunteer committees to paid skilled workers and the effect of employing more visitors and reducing the number of cases for each visitor.

Savings Through Use of Skilled Paid Workers

Example 1.

On June 1, the granting of relief in one county was taken over by a staff of paid investigators. From June first to September twenty-third, 13,441 cases that had previously been receiving relief were investigated. Of these cases, 6,379, or 47.5 per cent, were found to be ineligible for unemployment relief. The savings in relief funds effected through investigation by paid trained investigators was $21,050.00 per week or $90,515.00 per month. This investigation was accomplished with 19 investigators, paid a total monthly salary of $2,158.60. This gave a net saving of over $88,000.00. Thus, in this county each dollar expended for administrative expenses resulted in a net saving of approximately $42.00 per month.

Example 2.

In one week in June, 4,956 cases in one city were investigated by 22 paid investigators. 511, or 10.3 per cent, of these cases were found to be ineligible for relief. These 511 cases had been receiving relief to the extent of $1,789.50 per week. The 22 investigators were paid a salary of $330.00 for their week's work. This $330.00 investment in administration expenses brought about a saving of $1,459.60 per week or a net saving of $1,129.60 per week. Moreover, the total saving

continued week after week, even after the investigation was finished.

Example 3.

In another county, 9,960 cases that had been receiving relief were investigated by a staff of paid workers. 33 per cent of these cases were found to be ineligible for relief; 5 per cent could not be located; and 28 per cent were found to be receiving relief from more than one agency.

Example 4.

In another county a group of nine paid workers investigated 1,754 cases that had been receiving relief. Of these cases, 458, or 26.1 per cent, were found to be ineligible for unemployment relief, and 125 families were found to be receiving relief in excess of their needs. The saving per week effected through the investigation by these nine paid workers was $5,788.00. The salaries and expenses of these workers amounted to $920.00 for one month, leaving a net saving of $4,868.00 per week or $20,932.40 per month, for the 1,754 cases investigated.

Example 5.

One thousand eight hundred and fourteen cases that were receiving relief from a given Local Board were investigated by a staff of paid skilled investigators. Of these 1,814 cases, 656, or 36.2 per cent, were found not to be eligible for relief. 339 cases, or 18.7 per cent, were found to have resources and income which they had not reported and their relief was, therefore, decreased. During the process of investigation it was found that 55 cases that had not been receiving relief were entitled to relief and 124 cases had been receiving inadequate relief. The expenditures for relief per week among this group of families was $6,208.00 before investigation and $4,034.50 after investigation. A net saving of $2,173.-50, or 35.0 per cent, per week was thus effected even after the additional 55 cases were placed on relief and the grants to 124 cases increased.

Example 6.

On the first of February, 1933, a certain County employed a staff of paid investigators. From the first of February until June 14, these workers investigated 5,000 cases receiving relief. Through removal from the relief list of cases that were not eligible for relief, a saving of $20,000.00 per month for the period from February through May resulted. The total salaries paid the visitors during this period amounted to $5,000.00 or a net saving of $16.00 for every dollar spent for investigation.

Savings Through Reduction of Visitor's Case Loads

Example 1.

In June, 1933, a study of 56,823 cases receiving unemployment relief in 28 counties was made. After thorough investigation by hired skilled visitors, it was found that 10.2 per cent of the families were not in need of relief, that 6.4% of the cases were receiving relief in excess of their needs. In 3 per cent of the cases the amount of relief being given was inadequate to provide for the family's needs. The net saving in relief effected in these 28 counties amounted to $75,755.77 per week. This study revealed, in a striking manner, the need for more adequate investigation of families applying for relief.

Example 2.

In a city where the caseload per visitor had been 158 families, additional visitors were employed in one district and the caseload per visitor reduced to 85 families. Each visitor was thus enabled to establish more friendly relations with the applicant and thereby obtain a more adequate picture of the family situation without being forced to act as a detective trying to find out, but as a friend helping the family to adjust their problems. As a result, the amount of relief given each family was more nearly adjusted to their needs, and those not needing relief were discontinued from the relief rolls. In one month's time, the additional visitors effected a net saving in relief expenditures of $2,864.04. The salary paid those additional workers during the month was $520.00.

Example 3.

The following is a report from one county: in seven weeks under trained

supervision the caseload was reduced in one city by 818 cases, which, at a minimum cost of $3.50 per family, showed a saving of $20,041.00. No case was discontinued without sufficient reason; man working, adequate incomes, hidden resources. This decrease has continued steadily to date.

Example 4.

A study of 53 cases that had been receiving relief prior to the taking on of added personnel was made. Of the 53 cases, visitors found 43 families not eligible for relief. Out of these: 32 had adequate incomes; 9 misrepresented facts and had resources in property; 2 had relatives willing to assist. Out of 32 having adequate incomes: 11 were over $20.00 a week; fifteen were working the entire time they were getting relief. The total expenditures that had previously been made on these families was $3,871.65. Of this amount $1,750.05 was spent unnecessarily.

Effects of Economies

The effect of these economies has been to either decrease the amount of the taxpayers' money expended for relief or to make possible more adequate relief grants. It is this latter effect which has been attained in Pennsylvania.

Chapter VIII

The Volume and Cost of Unemployment Relief

Trend in Caseload and Unemployment

Approximately 600,000 different Pennsylvania families representing some 2,600,000 persons have been granted unemployment relief at some time in the fourteen month period from September 1, 1932, through October, 1933. The number of families receiving relief at any one time has shown considerable change, but the movement over the entire period presented a smooth curve rising from approximately 147,000 at the end of September, 1932, to 455,000 in May, 1933, and then decreasing steadily to 324,000 at the end of October, 1933.

The number of families and non-family individuals receiving relief at the end of each month from September, 1932, to October, 1933, is shown on Table 4. This table also shows the number of persons unemployed in Pennsylvania at the middle of each month during the same period. The data is shown graphically in Chart III. (See following page.)

The number of families on relief increased steadily from the end of September, 1932, to 455,000 at the end of May, 1933. The increase in case load during this period was due partly to increasing unemployment and relief needs and partly to the fact that the State Board was becoming organized throughout this period and was, therefore, gradually taking over the relief cases which previously had been taken care of by private agencies and local government units.

The number of unemployed in the State increased during six of the eight months period during which the number of relief cases were increasing. The rate of increase in the number of unemployed was smaller than the rate of increase in the number of families on relief. This situation is accounted for by three factors, one of which was mentioned above, namely, that the State Board was getting its relief program under way during part of this period. In the second place, private agencies, local governmental units, and poor boards were becoming less and less able to carry on with their unemployment relief programs. This caused a further shift in families from the relief rolls of these agencies to the rolls of the State Board.

The number of unemployed reached the peak in March, 1933. The number of cases on relief, on the other hand, continued to increase until May. This situation arose from a continuation of the situation explained in the preceding paragraph and also from the following relationship which exists between the incidence of unemployed and the incidence of relief. Only approximately half of the unemployed have been on the relief rolls at any particular time. Many unemployed persons are able to keep from applying for relief for varying periods of time because of savings, assistance from relatives and friends, and borrowing. These unemployed persons not on relief are often those who most re-

Table 4

Totally Unemployed Persons and Number of Cases on Relief in Pennsylvania, September, 1932 Through October, 1933

	Number Unemployed*	Cases on Relief**
September, 1932	1,203,186	146,959
October, 1932	1,099,444	213,874
November, 1932	1,099,841	266,141
December, 1932	1,113,996	319,093
January, 1933	1,309,850	366,928
February, 1933	1,321,842	415,397
March, 1933	1,379,351	437,035
April, 1933	1,346,549	444,602
May, 1933	1,314,835	454,884
June, 1933	1,259,987	432,533
July, 1933	1,147,179	392,605
August, 1933	1,037,606	341,107
September, 1933	909,363	318,114
October, 1933	906,787	323,601

*Middle of month (Bureau of Accounts and Statistics, Department of Labor and Industry Estimates).
**End of month.

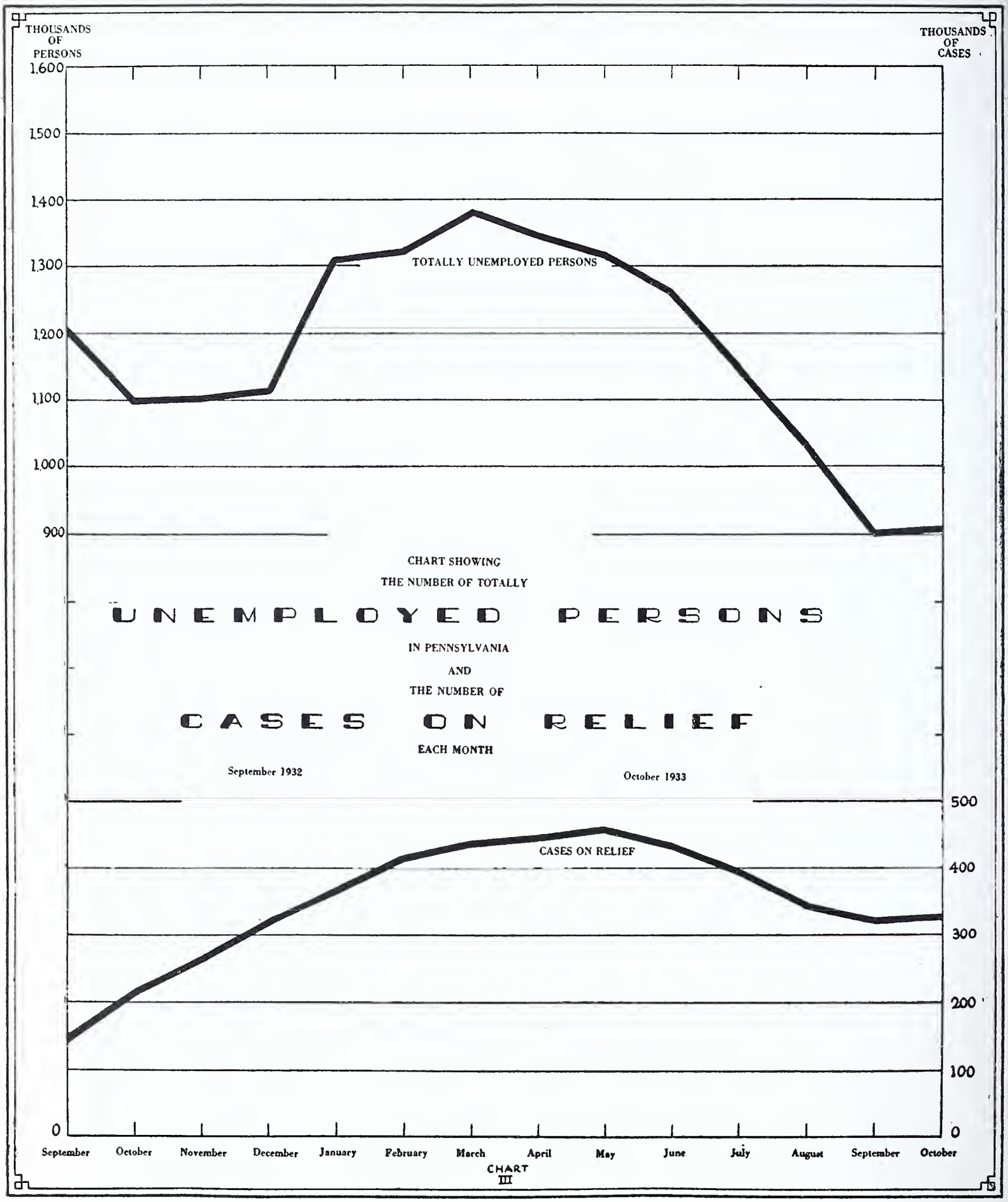
THOUSANDS OF PERSONS
THOUSANDS OF CASES
1,600
1,500
1,400
1,300
1,200
1,100
1,000
900
TOTALLY UNEMPLOYED PERSONS
CHART SHOWING
THE NUMBER OF TOTALLY
UNEMPLOYED PERSONS
IN PENNSYLVANIA
AND
THE NUMBER OF
CASES ON RELIEF
EACH MONTH
September 1932
October 1933
500
400
300
200
100
0
CASES ON RELIEF
0
September
October
November
December
January
February
March
April
May
June
July
August
September
October

CHART III

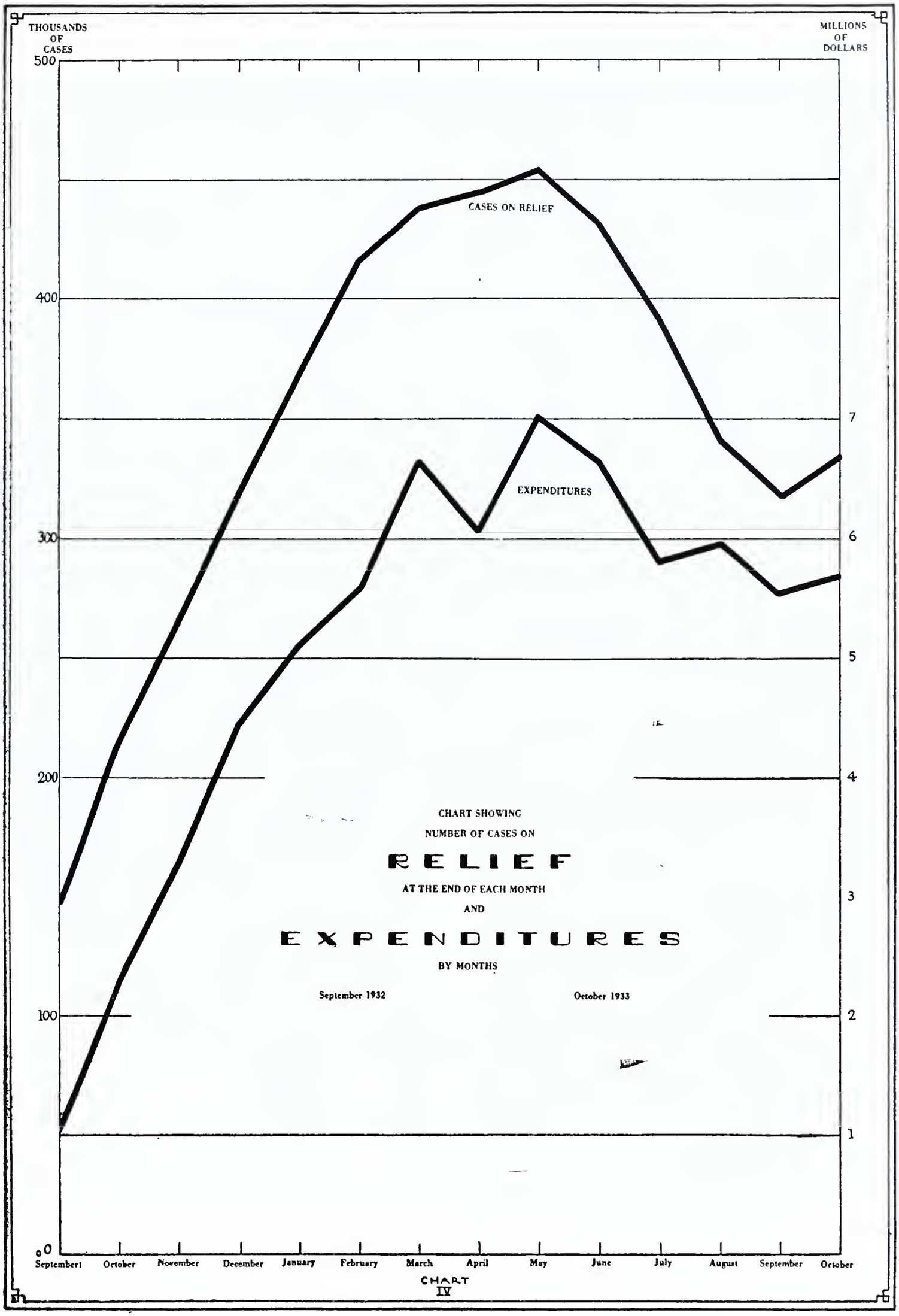
THOUSANDS OF CASES
MILLIONS OF DOLLARS
500
400
300
200
100
0
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
CASES ON RELIEF
EXPENDITURES
CHART SHOWING
NUMBER OF CASES ON
RELIEF
AT THE END OF EACH MONTH
AND
EXPENDITURES
BY MONTHS
September 1932
October 1933
September
October
November
December
January
February
March
April
May
June
July
August
September
October

CHART IV

TOTAL EXPENDITURES

September 1932

October 1933

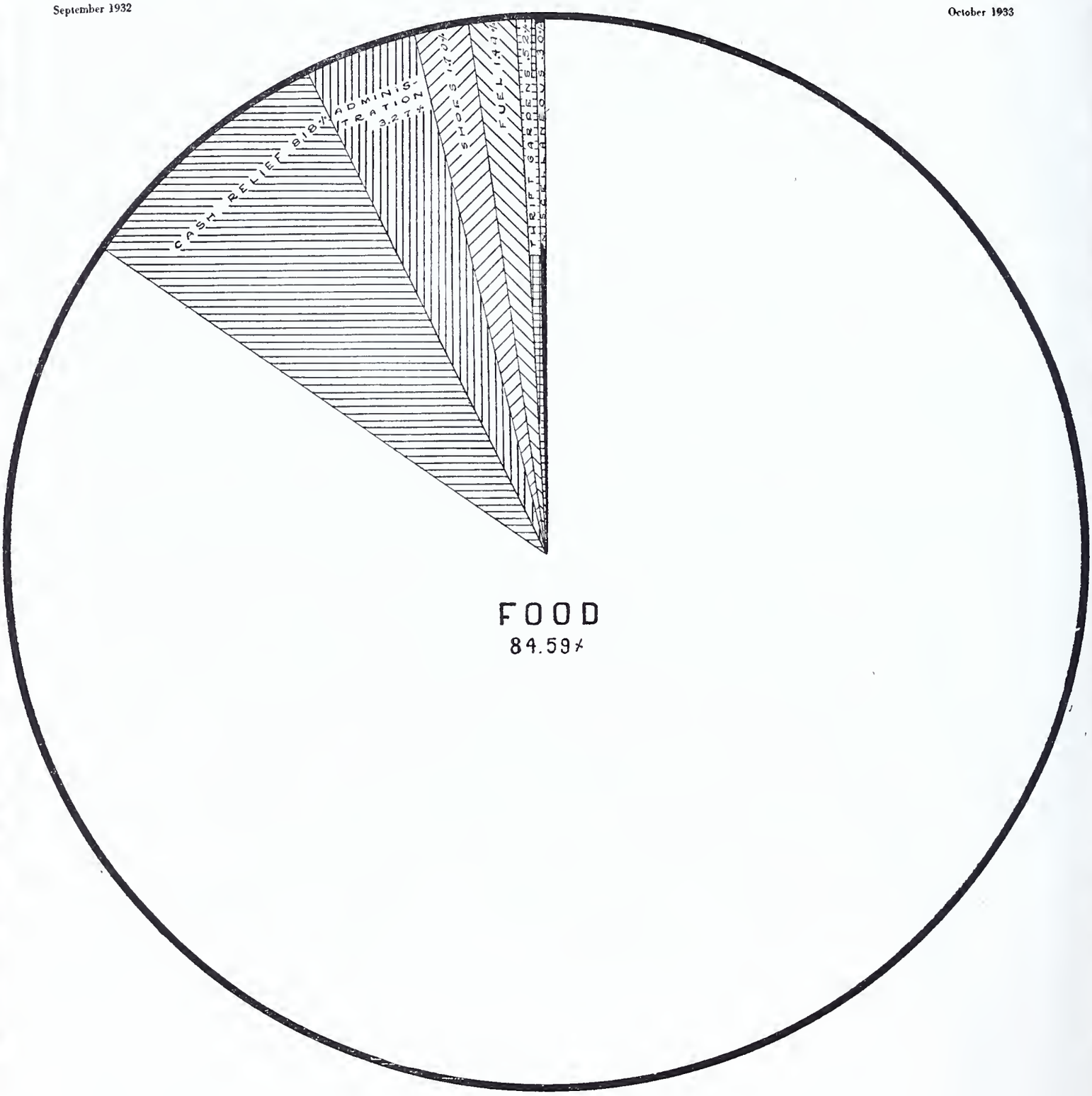

CHART V

cently became unemployed. These persons are often the more efficient and are, therefore, the first to regain employment as conditions improve, as was the case immediately after March of this year. When the self-sustaining unemployed regain employment there is no reduction in the caseload. On the other hand, as against the number returning to employment, there is another group of unemployed who are forced to apply for relief after their resources and savings are exhausted.

Since May the number of cases on relief has decreased at approximately the same rate as the number of unemployed; because of the conditions enumerated above, it would be expected that the number of families on relief would decrease less rapidly than the number of unemployed, at least for several months after a decrease in unemployment sets in. The fact that the number of relief cases has decreased more rapidly since May than would be expected is due to a considerable extent to the improvement in the quality of relief administration since that time. Detailed figures showing the number of cases on relief by county, by month is shown in Table A-1 in the appendix, and the number of unemployed by county, by month, is shown in Table A-2 of the appendix.

Trend in Relief Expenditures

The changes in relief expenditures have been similar since September, 1932, to the changes in the number of families on relief. These figures are shown in Table 5 and presented graphically in Chart IV. (See page 51). The volume of expenditures by counties, by month, is presented in Table A-3 of the appendix.

Table 5

Total Expenditures, September, 1932 Through October, 1933

	Expenditures	Per Cent
Food	$70,917,930.46	84.59
Cash relief*	6,855,065.28	8.18
Administration	2,743,218.46	3.27
Shoes	1,421,874.02	1.70
Fuel	1,204,098.17	1.44
Thrift gardens	437,791.89	.52
Miscellaneous	257,926.67	.30
Total	$83,837,904.95	100.00

* Work relief wages.

Table 6

Expenditure of Funds by State Emergency Relief Board, September 1, 1932—October 31, 1933

FOR:		
(1) Food:		
(a) Food orders issued by County Emergency Relief Boards	$66,825,608.43	
(b) Milk, distributed by Dept. of Health	4,092,322.03	
(c) Total Food		$70,917,930.46
(2) Fuel		1,204,098.17
(3) Administration:		
(a) County Emergency Relief Boards	$2,588,798.52	
(b) State Emergency Relief Board	154,419.94	
(c) Total Administration		$2,743,218.46
(4) Relief for Unemployed Veterans		62,500.00
(5) Thrift Garden, by County Emergency Relief Boards		437,791.89
(6) Work Relief Projects:		
(a) Dept. of Highways	$6,485,313.96	
(b) Dept. of Public Instruction		
(c) Pymatuming Dam	170,000.00	
(d) Glen Olden Project	749.80	
(e) State Re-employment Service Work Relief Fund and Administration	10,904.26	
(f) Work Relief Research Fund		
(g) Gypsy Moth Quarantine	118,512.34	
(h) Federal Works Relief Projects Fund	837.00	
(i) Japanese Beetle Quarantine	6,247.92	
Total Work Relief Expenditures		$6,792,565.28
(7) Clothing Fund		1,421,874.02
(8) Barter Association		5,500.00
(9) Bureau of Transients		2,663.68
(10) Medical Expense Fund		4,466.98
(11) Miscellaneous, by County Emergency Relief Boards		245,296.01
Total Expenditures		$83,837,904.95
Contingent Fund		274,998.18
Unexpended balances		9,472,302.07
Total		93,585,205.20

As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, a large proportion of the expenditures of the State Emergency Relief Board was for the purchase of food. Of a total of nearly $84,000,000 expended during the period from September 1, 1932, to October 31, 1933, nearly $71,000,000 or 84.59 per cent went for food. The second largest item of expenditure was for work relief projects, which accounted for an expenditure of slightly less than $7,000,000 during the seven month period. These figures are shown in Table 5 and Chart V. (See opposite page). Total expenditures for the period are shown in Table 6.

The expenditures of funds by county, by month are shown in the following tables in the appendix:

Table A-3: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards; by county, by month.

Table A-4: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Board; by county, by type.

Table A-5: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Miscellaneous Purposes; by county, by month.

Table A-6: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Food Relief; by county, by month.

Table A-7: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Fuel Relief; by county, by month.

Table A-8: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Administration Expenses; by county, by month.

Table A-9: Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Thrift Gardens; by county, by month.

Table A-10: Expenditures by Department of Highways for Work Relief; by county, by month.

Sources of Funds

The following tabulation shows the sources of funds which were made available to the State Emergency Relief Board during the period from September 1, 1932 through October, 1933:

Table 7

Sources of Funds

September 1, 1932—October 31, 1933

State:		
For Unemployment Relief:		
Second Talbot Act ..	$12,000,000.00	
Act No. 1A	2,000,000.00	
Act No. 3A	5,000,000.00	
Act No. 172	18,000,000.00	
Total Unemployment Relief		$37,000,000.00
For Administration Expenses—State Emergency Relief Board		
Act No. 51	$35,400.00	
Act No. 172	100,000.00	
Act No. 15A	13,421.20	
Total Administration Expenses ..		$148,821.20
Total State		$37,148,821.20
Federal:		
Reconstruction Finance Corporation ..		$34,929,875.00
Federal Emergency Relief Administration		21,506,509.00
Total Federal		$56,436,384.00
Grand Total—Available Funds ..		$93,585,205.20

Chapter IX

Appraisal of the Pennsylvania Program for Unemployment Relief and Recommendations for the Future

What are the high points of Pennsylvania's present system of unemployment relief? How shall we appraise what has been done during the past fourteen months? What objectives shall we seek to attain for the future?

Acceptance of responsibility for unemployment relief by public rather than by private agencies has taken place. Here lies a change in viewpoint which is national in scope. It is now universally recognized that the results of unemployment must be taken care of, in the main, by governmental agencies. This change, which has largely been wrought in three years' time, is far more significant of an altered conception of the social responsibilities of government than is generally recognized.

It is a desirable and a logical change; persons receiving unemployment relief are for the most part self-respecting citizens of the State who are out of employment through no fault of their own. They do not want "charity"; they do not want alms-giving of a self-satisfied donor. They simply ask reasonable security for self and family during periods of unemployment.

Government is the only agency that is broad enough to cover the needs of all communities. It is the only available source of financial support that is adequate to the task. There is no turning back from this decision. Throughout western Europe where extensive unemployment has been for many years an acute problem, governmental responsibility for unemployment relief has long since become an established principle.

. . . . .

The Place of State, Federal and Local Governments in an Unemployment Relief Program

Up to 1929, there existed an unbroken tradition to the effect that it was the sole responsibility of the local community to provide unemployment relief.

As unemployment increased, the overwhelming burden thrown upon inadequate local resources wrought a change in this viewpoint. In December, 1931, the Pennsylvania Legislature provided funds for unemployment relief for the first time, but these funds were appropriated for expenditure by the 424 local poor districts without any provision for any State supervision. How this experiment failed is shown in Chapter I of this report.

This need for unemployment relief was next considered at the special session of 1932, when the Legislature broke with tradition and established the present State Relief Administration. Within a month of that time, the Federal Government had for the first time provided funds to be used for unemployment relief.

A partnership was thereby formed consisting of Local, State and Federal Governments, with resources joined to meet their common responsibility to provide unemployment relief.

By this time (August, 1932) the credit of a large majority of the local Pennsylvania municipalities had become strained to the limit and many were on the verge of bankruptcy, while, on the other hand, the credit of the Commonwealth was excellent.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Pennsylvania's present program has almost completely

departed from the theory of local responsibility. It may have been contemplated by the legislation that local municipalities should continue to assume a large measure of financial responsibility. The law, however, provided no basis for compelling contributions, nor measuring local financial ability. Under such circumstances, the State and Federal Government naturally assumed the major part of the financial burden. Under the provision of the Woodward Act, the Legislature wisely gave the State Board power not only to administer relief through existing public or private agencies but also to create new agencies. The Board chose the latter alternative and in the establishment of the County Emergency Relief Boards, took the most important step forward in the development of the Public Relief Service in the history of the State of Pennsylvania.

The County Boards do not have the status of Boards established by law. Their existence and authority rests merely upon executive decision by the State Board. There is, accordingly, nothing rigid or unchangeable in their pattern. This situation has been of inestimable value in the development of an emergency program which had to meet changing conditions from month to month. The *flexibility* permitted under the provisions of the Woodward Act in regard to types of local agencies which might be used and relief policies which might be developed, has been the main strength of the Pennsylvania program.

RECOMMENDATION

The present form of organization, whereby the primary financial responsibility and initiative for the administration of the relief program has been lodged with the State, is admirably suited to present conditions. However, it is to be hoped that by the time the Legislature meets in the regular Session of 1935, the financial condition of local municipalities will have materially improved, and that generally more stable conditions will exist. Under such conditions, it is recommended that a long-time relief program be established which will bring back the local community as a more active participant in in the Federal-State-Local partnership.

It is further recommended that new legislation provide that the local community make the basic contribution toward its own unemployment relief expenditures, retaining a large measure of control of local administration. However, it is also strongly recommended that the partnership arrangement of Local, State and Federal Governments be continued as the basis of the long-time program.

State Leadership and Control of Unemployment Relief Program

The First Talbot Act established the principle that the State should provide funds for unemployment relief.

The Woodward Act and the Second Talbot Act established the further principle that the State should provide leadership, and should have control of the expenditure of relief funds and supervision over the development of the State-wide unemployment relief program.

Only through this State leadership and supervision has it been possible to work toward one program for the State, with uniformity of policy and standards of administration. The task is by no means completed. However, much progress has been made and State leadership is the keystone of the present program.

Legally, the State Emergency Relief Board has no control over the administration of Federal funds. Under the law it is an Advisory Board to the Governor in the administration of these funds. However, the Governor, who is Chairman of the Board, established the practice of accepting the recommendations made to him by the Board. Consequently, State and Federal funds actually are administered as an integrated unit with a single administration, both State and local. Through this co-ordination, there has been only one unemployment relief program, and not two. This has eliminated an untold amount of duplication, friction and inefficiency. Had not State and Federal funds been administered practically as one fund during the past year, chaos would have resulted.

The presence of a centralized State adminis-

tration during the past year has proved of value, not only in the fulfillment of the regular relief program, but also in carrying out activities closely related to the relief program.

For example, by using the machinery which had been created, it was possible to recruit the Pennsylvania contingent for the Civilian Conservation Corps in a remarkably short space of time.

More recently, without the facilities of the centralized relief administration, it would not have been physically possible to put the Civil Work Administration Program in operation in the space of time allowed.

These are only two of countless instances in which the centralized relief administration has proven to be of incalculable value.

The relief program in many counties was not well organized originally. The centralized authority which was vested in the State Board enabled it to bring about the reorganization of the local relief administration where necessary.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that as a part of any permanent relief plan there be vested in the State Relief Administration a full measure of responsibility and the necessary power to insure maintenance of standards of local relief administrations. Full power to coordinate Local, State and Federal relief expenditures should also be vested in the State Administration.

Citizens' Participation

One of the most creditable features of the Pennsylvania unemployment relief system has been the voluntary participation of more than 400 persons serving on County Emergency Relief Boards and a large number of additional persons on local committees and in other voluntary capacities, all of whom serve without compensation. In a large measure, such success as has been attained has been due to the devoted effort of the citizens who have rallied to the call of this State undertaking. They have given generously of their time, their thought, and their loyalty in helping to meet one of the great crises in the history of the Commonwealth.

The participation of many of these men and women in the unemployment relief administration has been an invaluable public service. As the relief administration has progressed in the past fourteen months, it has been gratifying to observe a growing interest in this and other related problems of government on the part of an ever increasing number of citizens.

Due to lack of provision for administration expense, many of the Citizens' Boards functioned in the beginning without administrative personnel except such voluntary service as could be secured locally.

On the one hand, this developed certain weaknesses in the administration which, in many instances, were not corrected until paid administrative staffs were developed. On the other hand, it is a note-worthy achievement of emergency administration that the zealous and conscientious service of these citizens provided the basis for local administration which has been maintained on a singularly high plane.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that any future modification of the State Relief Administration retain the feature of a local unpaid Citizens' Board as the head of the local administrative unit.

The Administrative Standard—Qualified Paid Personnel Appointed on a Merit Basis

Even before the Federal Emergency Relief Administration issued its regulations requiring certain standards of relief administration, the State Emergency Relief Board had made a good start toward setting up minimum standards. Skilled service under experienced supervision was necessary in the receiving of relief applications, clearance with the Social Service Exchange or Central Index of families in the community, and adequate investigation. All of these are essential to effective relief administration.

Staff employes are now being appointed to positions on the basis of their training, experience and qualifications.

There has been some heedless discussion on the subject of the cost of relief administration. In Pennsylvania, as a matter of fact, there is not now being expended sufficient funds for administration to insure the high degree of efficiency that should ultimately obtain. If there is any criticism which can be made of administrative expense, it is that too little, rather than too much, has been spent for this purpose.

RECOMMENDATION

It is recommended that, in any permanent relief program, safeguards be established so that the selection of personnel and tenure of office may be protected by effective Civil Service provisions in such a way as to remove these offices entirely from the sphere of partisan politics. It is particularly important in this field of governmental activity that politics be barred. When it is realized that relief grants are in a measure gifts from the State to individuals, no permanent system should even be considered without this protection. It is a provision which should be desired not only by the relief administration, but by the taxpayers and far-sighted political leaders as well. The importance of this recommendation cannot be too strongly emphasized.

The State Administration in a Permanent Relief Program

The present Board is composed of State officials who are members of the Board under the law by virtue of the offices which they hold. These Officers are: the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, State Treasurer, Auditor General, and Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The establishment of an ex-officio Board was the result of compromise born of the conflict which developed in the special session of the Legislature in 1932. It is probably the best form of organization that could have been secured under the circumstances existing at that time. However, it is plain that such a type of organization is not the best for the purpose of supervising the State-wide unemployment relief program.

In the first place, there is no assurance that the individual State Officials designated to serve on the Board will be familiar with, or interested in, relief problems.

In the second place, the varying terms of office of these State Officials have no relevance to the needs of the Board or to continuity of policy. Already, in the short space of fourteen months, there have been two changes in the personnel of the Board and, had it not been for the fact that the former Auditor General was elected State Treasurer, there would have been three changes which would have been a majority of the personnel of the Board. Furthermore, it is possible that after the election of 1934, three of the elective offices, above referred to, will be occupied by different individuals. This may mean that three members of the board may change at that time, leaving only one member of the original personnel.

RECOMMENDATION

Such a constant turnover in the personnel of the Board is a highly undesirable feature. The remedy lies in a change in the form of organization of the present Board as provided in the Woodward Act.

It is recommended that when the Legislature considers the establishment of a permanent relief system, the State Board be constituted of Citizen Members selected with reference to their special qualifications for the position. Such a change could be effected by the Legislature at its regular Session in 1935 through an amendment to the Woodward Act.

It is further recommended that the Board should consist of not less than three, nor more than five, citizens of the State. The appointment of members to such a Board should be made by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the Senate. Any subsequent vacancies should be filled in the same manner. The term of office of the members appointed should be rotated so that not more than one member would normally be appointed during the term

of office of any Governor. The change is recommended primarily for the purpose of obtaining a more workable form of organization to supervise relief administration, and also for the purpose of developing a continuity of policy.

This recommendation is made with a full appreciation of the service of the Chairman and members of the present State Board in its development of sound and effective policies of emergency relief in Pennsylvania.

Work Relief

The purpose of work relief is two-fold: (1) to maintain the morale, the self-respect of the person receiving relief, and (2) to preserve self-reliance.

As a general proposition it never has been possible to fulfill the first aim because of the fact that real work cannot be provided in sufficient volume to give all of the people entitled to relief the kind of work for which they are fitted. In consequence, the so-called "made work" program usually provided employment which was appropriately described by one relief administrator as "raking leaves back and forth in the yard until the leaves are worn out."

As to the second point, another basic principle of society was frequently violated in that the work was too often done on a "no work, no eat" basis, which in the last analysis is slavery. The conclusion of most of those who have given consideration to work relief is that it does nothing to improve relief but, on the contrary, does much to degrade employment. The first principle of employment is to employ on the basis of ability, and not need. Ability is, and should remain, the primary test of employment.

The Federal Civil Works Program has been styled a Work Relief Program by some. It is not in any sense of the word a Work Relief Program as we have understood that term in the past. While in its present form it provides that one-half of the people employed be drawn from the relief lists, nevertheless the final test for C. W. A. employment is ability and general fitness for the job, which is as it should be. Furthermore, employment on this program is compensated at the going rate of wages, while all other accepted employment standards are observed.

The report of Roger F. Evans which is the result of an exhaustive study of the Work Relief Program of Pennsylvania and other states appears as Appendix II of this report.

RECOMMENDATION

Work relief which in a great number of instances has been nothing more nor less than forced labor, bitterly and justly resented by the free American citizens upon whom it has been imposed, should be abolished.

Work relief in its usual form is neither real work nor real relief.

The Civil Works Administration plan supersedes work relief. It provides real work at real wages on public works that are of permanent social and economic value.

Requirements for Shelter

There is one major relief need, namely shelter, for which no provision has yet been made from State or Federal funds. Local public and private relief agencies have paid rent in some cases, but such rent payments have been restricted almost entirely to cases where eviction was imminent. How then do families receiving unemployment relief manage to keep a roof over their heads?

Usually every dollar which could be scraped together by the family has been applied to partial payment of the rent. In most cases, the landlord has been forced to provide free rent, in whole or in part.

In the study of families receiving unemployment relief from the Philadelphia County Emergency Relief Board, it was revealed that 90% of relief families owe money for back rent.[1]

The only assistance that the County Emer-

[1] "No Money for Rent"—Joint Committee on Research of the Community Council for Philadelphia and the Pennsylvania School of Social Work.

gency Relief Boards have been able to furnish up to the present time is to help in negotiations with the landlord to prevent eviction. When an eviction becomes imminent, the family usually moves to another house and begins the same routine of negotiating and waiting all over again. When the family on relief has friends or relatives who are able to pay rent, or who are more successful in withstanding the demands of the landlord, the two families move together in living quarters and over-crowding results.

The results of the lack of relief grants for shelter are:

1. A high proportion of residence vacancies with the inevitable result that many landlords are not able to pay taxes. This is one of the major causes for the extremely high percentage of local tax delinquencies.

2. A large increase in the rate of foreclosures upon dwelling house properties has undoubtedly been a result of this situation.

3. Where landlords have permitted tenants to continue on a rent-free basis, the landlord has in effect been subsidizing that which is properly a relief burden of government.

4. The overcrowding which has resulted from the no-relief-funds for rent policy has produced conditions which endanger public health and social stability.

RECOMMENDATION

Up to the present time the continuing uncertainty of funds has endangered even present relief grants. Consequently the question as to whether rent should be included in the family budget for relief has been an academic one. With adequate appropriations for relief purposes now available, provisions should be made to provide shelter where necessary as a part of the relief budget. Shelter is a basic necessity of life and there is no more reason for expecting the landlord to provide a proportion of the relief needs of the unemployed than there would be for forcing the merchants to provide free merchandise. It is a proper governmental responsibility to provide all basic relief needs.

More Adequate Relief

At the start of the Pennsylvania program there was an assumption that the State would furnish only food relief and that the local community would furnish other types of relief. When the local community was able to meet its share of the responsibility, it was not uncommon that an applicant would have to apply to three, four or five agencies to secure the individual items necessary to sustain the life of the family. Due to the fact that a majority of the communities had already exhausted their resources, the relief needs other than food were not being met.

Gradually, as funds became available, the State Board extended its program to meet certain other needs—fuel, shoes, clothing, medical care, and medical supplies. At the same time, the establishment of the standard food relief schedule has materially increased the average food relief grant.

RECOMMENDATION

Relief should be given on a budgetary deficiency basis as is now required by the rules and regulations of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (See page 45). If this objective is to be achieved, relief expenditures per family must be materially increased.

From the financial standpoint, this is not so impracticable as it may sound. It is reasonable to expect that during the coming year return to normal industrial activity will continue, that unemployment will decrease and consequently the relief case load will decrease. An opportunity will then be presented for the State to provide more nearly adequate relief without any substantial increase in total relief expenditures.

Cash Relief

The attempt to distribute relief in kind has resulted in an immensely cumbersome system which involves the issuing, auditing and disbursing for the millions of relief orders distributed monthly. It has been necessary to

establish an elaborate control system in order to insure a proper safeguard of expenditures. Furthermore, this system of relief has created a tendency to think in terms of separate types of relief, rather than in terms of the total needs of the individual receiving relief. Relief grants made in cash instead of in kind is the only remedy.

If there is any one left at this late date who would protest against cash relief as being a dole, let it be remembered that we are already giving a dole, whether it be in the form of relief orders for food or other necessities of life. Cash relief affords the family some opportunity for freedom and initiative and, as a matter of fact, has far less of the psychology of "charity" than do the stereotyped orders for particular types of commodities.

However, it is recognized that the legislation appropriating funds for relief which has been passed by the General Assembly up to the present time contemplated that direct relief would be granted in kind only, except where it is provided that the monies may be paid into the Motor License fund for work on the State highways.

Furthermore, any relief system which contemplates direct relief in cash requires certain machinery and safeguards which the Pennsylvania system does not yet possess. The present system has barely completed its organization period. Much still remains to be done with a view to perfecting its administrative personnel and methods. Therefore, it is not considered wise under present conditions to depart from the present policy of giving relief in kind. It would be the better part of wisdom to allow another year to elapse so that standards of relief administration throughout the State may be brought to the high level necessary as a basis for a cash relief system.

In the recommendation on page 58 ("The Minimum Administrative Standard—Qualified Paid Personnel Appointed on a Merit Basis") it was recommended that "in any permanent relief program, safeguards be established so that the selection of personnel and tenure of office may be protected by a strong Civil Service provision. . . ."

Cash relief grants should not be initiated before such a civil service system has been completely established.

RECOMMENDATION

Any long-time relief program that may be developed in the State should beyond question provide for relief in cash, and cash only. It is further recommended that such a system be adopted not later than the regular session of the Legislature in 1935.

A Long-time Public Relief Program

As industrial recovery proceeds, unemployment will gradually diminish, leaving a residual relief load considerably greater than before the depression.

No time should be lost in laying the foundation of a long-time public relief program in Pennsylvania. In planning such a program the reduction of the costs of local government should be an important consideration. This objective points in the direction of at least four developments as basic to a long-time public relief program:

1. Toward the consolidation of public relief services within the local unit of administration, into one public relief agency which would administer unemployment relief, poor relief, Mothers' Assistance, and all other forms of public relief. Such a development would both simplify and reduce the costs of government to the taxpayers.

2. For any such consolidated public relief agency, there should be a local Board composed of unpaid citizen members and a paid qualified Executive responsible to that Board. This is a form of organization that has given the best results in relief administration in Pennsylvania, i. e., Unemployment Relief and Mothers' Assistance Fund.

3. A substantial part of the funds for all types of public relief should continue to come from the State. State participation is needed in any long-time program. Local resources are insufficient to carry the load in some parts of the State. In large areas,

such as the anthracite and bituminous coal fields there is a vital necessity that State participation shall continue without interruption in financing the public relief burden.

4. There should be State leadership and State supervision in any long-time relief program, as there has been in the fields of unemployment relief and Mothers' Assistance. Relief is not merely a local matter—it is a State-wide concern, and only the State government can furnish the leadership needed to develop uniform policies and effective administration throughout the Commonwealth. By the same token, Federal participation will be required as a continuing policy. It is of the utmost importance that there be a State body to carry out the requirements of the Federal agency.

A particularly acute situation exists in certain areas of the State. Because of the decline or migration of specific industries, a considerable proportion of the population has been left without means of providing a livelihood. In other cases, the results of technological unemployment presents a similar situation. Where such conditions exist, unemployment relief will become a permanent problem unless steps are undertaken to correct the conditions giving rise to the need for unemployment relief. The State Relief Administration should, therefore, be closely associated with workers retraining, rehabilitation, co-operative subsistence farming, and other similar programs to develop employment opportunities for displaced workers.

Unemployment Relief and the Social Program

The approved method of dealing with the ills of the social and economic system seems to have been to wait until complete breakdown is at hand, whereupon a partial correction has been devised without any real attempt to get at the root of the trouble. The effect is disjointed legislative and social action; the preservation of institutions which have long outlived their usefulness.

No form of relief, whether it be unemployment relief or any other type of public relief, can be dissociated from the whole problem of unemployment. The establishment of a permanent relief administration should be developed on an entirely new foundation and as a part of a complete program of social and economic legislation.

We stand today at the parting of the ways: in one direction lies breakdown and chaos—in the other a planned social and economic order, the first principle of which should be the assurance of security for all.

Appendix I

Statistical Tables

Table A-1—Number of Cases on Last Day of Each Month Receiving Relief From

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933
Adams	29	155	256	405	688	637	850
Allegheny	35,922	37,474	39,619	43,885	48,416	59,577	68,287
Armstrong	1,645	2,140	2,615	3,024	3,024	3,395	5,538
Beaver	4,179	4,727	6,279	6,721	7,737	7,760	8,186
Bedford	648	1,018	1,334	1,584	2,050	2,141	1,643
Berks	6,065	6,916	7,238	7,909	9,252	9,342	10,145
Blair	1,395	1,561	1,991	2,237	2,536	2,756	2,951
Bradford	210	695	801	1,340	2,066	2,487	2,306
Bucks	766	1,015	1,306	1,582	1,867	2,142	2,237
Butler	1,600	1,700	1,750	2,625	2,800	3,000	3,200
Cambria	1,681	2,248	3,520	4,279	4,649	5,024	6,024
Cameron	94	131	155	189	247	272	298
Carbon	131	594	1,626	1,806	1,887	2,109	2,322
Centre	717	1,475	1,914	2,440	2,458	2,719	2,897
Chester	.....	1,873	1,974	2,338	2,687	2,938	3,223
Clarion	750	660	772	948	1,202	1,251	1,442
Clearfield	936	5,307	8,298	8,710	9,697	9,891	7,684
Clinton	159	806	1,080	1,402	1,641	1,790	1,858
Columbia	1,450	1,450	1,468	2,500	2,990	3,214	3,056
Crawford	1,510	1,700	1,960	2,310	2,640	2,774	3,057
Cumberland	1,122	1,195	1,493	2,321	2,782	2,997	3,183
Dauphin	3,347	4,139	4,566	5,419	6,123	6,365	7,034
Delaware	4,054	4,682	5,321	6,072	6,938	7,116	7,515
Elk	399	1,250	1,513	2,173	1,893	2,050	2,480
Erie	4,661	4,661	4,649	4,673	5,252	5,533	6,551
Fayette	9,040	10,200	10,350	12,200	13,600	14,000	16,224
Forest	.....	134	194	258	221	360	394
Franklin	58	1,120	2,593	3,142	3,521	3,755	3,812
Fulton	13	61	91	117	520	580	506
Greene	380	555	721	936	1,145	1,275	1,405
Huntingdon	926	856	985	1,301	1,828	2,476	1,816
Indiana	2,005	4,000	4,860	5,370	5,456	5,007	5,007
Jefferson	396	945	1,481	1,571	2,410	3,916	4,165
Juniata	34	120	200	203	429	453	475
Lackawanna	6,554	7,480	11,627	14,125	16,296	18,050	15,098
Lancaster	.....	.....	.....	2,985	3,638	3,766	4,410
Lawrence	2,183	2,940	3,156	3,547	3,828	4,276	4,667
Lebanon	1,532	1,480	1,574	1,744	1,908	2,050	2,085
Lehigh	1,918	2,217	2,718	3,514	4,387	5,159	7,132
Luzerne	1,754	14,211	17,524	24,126	23,797	26,819	28,611
Lycoming	.....	1,583	3,384	1,909	2,983	7,423	3,621
McKean	466	995	1,352	1,652	2,004	2,305	2,551
Mercer	3,130	3,250	3,201	4,164	5,966	6,444	6,374
Mifflin	1,246	1,329	1,433	1,674	1,767	1,896	2,197
Monroe	80	106	267	539	623	530	674
Montgomery	.....	155	1,312	2,773	5,216	5,988	6,347
Montour	215	243	278	282	600	785	979
Northampton	1,005	2,206	3,200	3,433	4,675	5,543	2,621
Northumberland	1,025	1,495	4,468	5,987	7,136	7,745	8,304
Perry	71	524	600	697	717	819	884
Philadelphia	14,680	27,665	39,954	50,115	58,064	64,064	69,867
Pike	.....	.....	.....	33	7	28	16
Potter	.....	53	434	796	1,230	1,609	1,903
Schuylkill	1,154	8,730	9,916	11,087	13,106	13,830	14,513
Snyder	45	369	574	1,222	1,048	1,250	1,374
Somerset	2,500	2,700	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,500	3,805
Sullivan	47	134	180	218	484	580	509
Susquehanna	2	786	1,378	2,474	3,784	3,860	3,447
Tioga	.....	450	550	1,150	1,403	1,684	1,879
Union	585	817	856	923	1,257	1,333	1,284
Venango	676	1,497	2,690	3,190	3,950	5,741	5,431
Warren	391	696	1,076	1,187	1,838	2,085	2,344
Washington	5,000	6,000	7,519	8,876	10,309	14,034	13,533
Wayne	186	193	653	665	725	745	711
Westmoreland	12,007	12,007	12,094	12,278	13,394	14,567	15,531
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	260	758	849	854
York	2,185	4,000	3,700	3,978	3,878	4,938	5,708
Total	146,959	213,874	266,141	319,093	366,928	415,397	437,035

County Emergency Relief Boards; by County—September, 1932, through October, 1933

April 1933	May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	September 1933	October 1933	County
345	400	369	113	444	73	96	Adams
72,481	74,244	71,262	67,365	55,183	58,977	63,045	Allegheny
4,383	4,597	4,875	5,603	3,205	2,191	2,893	Armstrong
8,638	8,360	6,835	5,427	4,370	3,780	3,643	Beaver
2,081	2,239	2,023	1,800	1,678	1,504	1,373	Bedford
10,885	10,917	10,169	10,906	13,084	8,227	7,499	Berks
3,110	3,200	3,155	4,404	3,956	3,599	3,530	Blair
2,118	2,193	2,008	1,605	1,533	1,326	1,281	Bradford
1,906	1,803	1,561	1,276	992	998	1,006	Bucks
3,200	3,200	3,000	2,250	2,060	2,063	1,831	Butler
6,904	7,996	8,189	8,796	7,967	6,876	6,070	Cambria
312	278	179	118	36	14	6	Cameron
2,376	2,718	2,401	2,084	1,589	1,150	1,078	Carbon
2,788	2,772	2,385	1,973	1,728	1,488	1,396	Centre
3,187	3,068	2,617	2,429	1,850	1,756	1,821	Chester
1,488	1,452	1,360	1,163	1,156	1,162	1,114	Clarion
8,778	8,773	7,948	7,223	6,039	5,706	6,594	Clearfield
1,898	1,817	1,664	1,385	1,232	1,107	1,010	Clinton
3,157	3,160	3,148	2,688	2,408	2,123	2,480	Columbia
2,935	2,933	3,205	2,786	2,201	1,884	1,832	Crawford
3,143	3,251	2,644	1,983	1,978	1,707	1,493	Cumberland
7,010	6,880	6,470	6,211	5,536	5,524	5,722	Dauphin
7,096	6,628	5,898	5,437	4,811	4,319	4,365	Delaware
2,241	2,022	1,458	1,274	1,016	852	865	Elk
6,887	6,598	5,856	4,904	4,856	4,136	4,116	Erie
16,264	16,516	14,200	12,817	11,249	10,827	19,706	Fayette
340	321	241	123	100	103	103	Forest
3,430	3,435	3,247	3,087	2,311	1,986	1,511	Franklin
536	431	408	298	263	222	234	Fulton
1,447	1,502	1,157	941	797	631	688	Greene
2,217	2,008	1,715	1,468	1,122	1,062	1,002	Huntingdon
5,801	5,600	5,366	5,155	4,942	4,118	4,340	Indiana
3,758	4,193	4,368	3,985	3,634	3,714	3,410	Jefferson
470	489	424	363	307	326	293	Juniata
15,517	16,075	17,943	17,919	15,980	16,022	13,388	Lackawanna
4,588	4,428	3,533	3,198	3,059	3,183	3,060	Lancaster
5,024	4,771	4,616	4,372	4,047	2,981	3,506	Lawrence
1,773	2,164	1,432	1,049	1,008	1,170	1,056	Lebanon
7,089	6,308	5,920	5,466	4,794	4,625	5,110	Lehigh
26,291	31,114	32,234	21,748	19,704	17,356	15,147	Luzerne
3,507	2,919	3,749	6,410	3,396	3,397	3,020	Lycoming
2,478	2,487	2,237	1,781	1,332	1,026	979	McKean
2,640	6,072	5,674	5,038	4,216	3,619	3,841	Mercer
2,261	2,202	1,798	1,580	1,326	1,216	1,206	Mifflin
533	515	518	314	266	272	345	Monroe
5,899	5,490	4,644	4,071	3,624	3,326	3,239	Montgomery
975	921	856	811	395	463	451	Montour
6,183	5,333	5,205	4,268	3,970	3,778	4,410	Northampton
8,223	8,392	8,270	7,745	6,735	5,330	4,884	Northumberland
867	842	776	594	556	397	287	Perry
70,445	69,031	66,756	64,112	58,485	53,896	55,047	Philadelphia
2	3	26	7	1	3	46	Pike
2,019	2,148	2,182	2,190	668	505	350	Potter
15,245	17,198	16,652	15,783	13,418	15,212	10,616	Schuylkill
1,325	1,168	1,018	983	969	537	596	Snyder
4,425	5,517	5,213	4,726	4,188	3,707	3,801	Somerset
410	383	335	234	144	113	112	Sullivan
2,463	2,712	2,136	2,279	2,063	996	245	Susquehanna
1,800	1,909	1,909	367	561	498	479	Tioga
1,157	1,055	1,000	973	629	655	655	Union
5,262	5,076	4,272	3,864	3,451	3,373	3,253	Venango
2,450	2,353	2,118	1,833	1,711	1,656	1,629	Warren
16,206	15,372	13,433	10,763	9,760	6,529	10,344	Washington
702	701	577	648	615	2,561	503	Wayne
16,982	17,832	18,461	14,364	10,472	10,374	11,506	Westmoreland
708	795	747	410	379	235	266	Wyoming
5,543	5,604	4,488	3,265	3,552	3,572	2,778	York
444,602	454,884	432,533	392,605	341,107	318,114	323,601	Total

Table A-2—Estimated Number of Totally Unemployed Persons;[1]

County	July 1932	August 1932	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933
Adams	3,342	3,260	3,065	2,710	2,816	3,393	3,824	3,775
Allegheny	190,939	196,894	191,621	177,752	176,895	177,585	203,739	207,584
Armstrong	8,515	8,542	8,196	7,648	6,838	7,582	9,427	9,471
Beaver	21,545	22,045	21,604	20,626	20,738	20,750	22,971	23,116
Bedford	2,594	2,616	2,373	2,050	1,383	1,612	3,107	3,128
Berks	33,266	31,747	29,172	26,523	27,294	27,547	32,011	32,457
Blair	14,806	15,661	15,477	14,554	14,235	14,494	16,367	16,955
Bradford	3,655	3,765	3,621	3,368	2,938	2,780	4,110	4,224
Bucks	11,299	10,897	10,146	9,228	9,144	9,471	11,702	11,812
Butler	8,960	9,015	8,810	8,337	8,117	8,251	9,846	10,025
Cambria	21,270	21,640	21,108	19,642	19,288	19,259	21,894	22,295
Cameron	522	497	468	426	313	393	627	627
Carbon	9,894	9,568	9,039	8,478	8,477	8,509	9,651	9,479
Centre	4,434	4,388	4,218	3,768	3,719	3,912	5,108	5,132
Chester	13,743	13,942	13,479	12,429	12,507	12,563	15,413	15,630
Clarion	3,000	2,970	2,867	2,693	1,523	2,623	3,407	3,450
Clearfield	9,100	9,046	8,900	8,238	7,114	8,059	9,830	9,933
Clinton	3,058	3,066	2,878	2,655	1,402	2,895	3,333	3,384
Columbia	5,886	5,666	5,378	4,852	4,479	4,567	5,797	5,855
Crawford	5,730	5,985	5,960	5,565	5,751	5,988	6,692	6,886
Cumberland	7,134	7,191	6,873	6,118	5,334	5,698	7,907	7,993
Dauphin	20,544	20,921	20,150	18,549	19,110	18,906	21,934	22,139
Delaware	37,418	38,272	36,802	33,600	34,745	34,209	39,043	40,287
Elk	3,482	3,567	3,427	3,233	2,833	3,438	3,919	3,913
Erie	22,620	23,527	23,263	21,794	22,363	22,639	24,843	25,463
Fayette	21,056	21,436	20,977	19,798	19,676	19,602	21,884	22,331
Forest	548	543	521	481	428	419	716	706
Franklin	6,127	6,196	5,997	5,371	5,659	5,545	6,782	6,995
Fulton	347	276	230	136	87	454	521	523
Greene	3,452	3,487	3,403	3,155	2,352	2,509	3,954	3,998
Huntingdon	4,056	4,020	3,828	3,462	2,517	3,369	4,471	4,488
Indiana	6,466	6,358	6,148	5,684	4,483	5,410	6,728	6,956
Jefferson	4,904	4,847	4,660	4,355	3,823	4,520	5,212	5,350
Juniata	805	693	603	452	36	110	948	947
Lackawanna	45,644	43,589	39,513	33,985	34,639	34,472	42,345	40,580
Lancaster	21,905	21,010	19,358	17,322	17,610	17,943	22,260	22,371
Lawrence	12,164	12,450	12,113	11,482	11,434	11,285	13,149	13,245
Lebanon	8,771	8,455	7,891	7,229	7,390	7,778	9,133	9,075
Lehigh	24,298	23,622	21,999	20,083	20,594	20,652	24,219	24,468
Luzerne	69,002	64,979	58,480	50,465	51,570	51,345	62,991	59,629
Lycoming	10,650	10,764	10,289	9,491	8,723	8,949	11,596	11,761
McKean	6,013	6,031	5,730	5,318	4,644	5,179	8,101	7,934
Mercer	12,250	12,619	12,513	11,839	11,972	11,788	13,284	13,554
Mifflin	4,674	4,558	4,308	4,014	4,258	4,489	4,821	4,822
Monroe	3,096	2,923	2,719	2,442	2,589	2,277	3,456	3,475
Montgomery	33,980	33,716	31,818	28,819	29,967	29,403	35,270	36,020
Montour	1,317	1,214	1,125	952	884	792	1,366	1,372
Northampton	23,875	23,369	21,903	20,325	20,635	21,069	24,379	24,342
Northumberland	18,526	17,483	15,890	13,951	14,270	14,477	17,108	16,760
Perry	1,421	1,353	1,287	1,099	954	788	1,678	1,699
Philadelphia	303,781	303,399	286,525	259,968	270,331	271,000	308,822	315,698
Pike	708	660	607	538	587	444	863	875
Potter	1,110	1,038	933	809	462	594	1,402	1,393
Schuylkill	38,688	36,939	33,994	30,318	30,675	31,363	36,172	34,444
Snyder	1,687	1,530	1,415	1,196	1,158	1,090	1,741	1,739
Somerset	7,612	7,640	7,448	6,979	5,484	6,905	8,057	8,201
Sullivan	714	652	586	511	719	830	773	744
Susquehanna	2,927	2,875	2,800	2,544	2,333	2,368	3,262	3,265
Tioga	1,839	1,802	1,675	1,456	1,003	1,051	2,135	2,146
Union	1,368	1,324	1,290	1,088	1,101	947	1,491	1,528
Venango	6,670	6,958	6,940	6,551	6,422	6,863	8,049	8,213
Warren	4,370	4,503	4,380	4,056	3,554	3,474	5,263	5,313
Washington	24,768	25,202	24,587	23,130	22,963	22,254	26,278	26,580
Wayne	2,248	2,052	1,848	1,596	1,484	1,690	2,250	2,262
Westmoreland	35,308	36,008	35,225	33,227	32,214	31,819	37,181	37,574
Wyoming	1,091	1,042	1,027	875	802	747	1,317	1,311
York	20,614	20,589	19,708	18,095	17,951	18,810	21,920	22,142
Total	1,267,606	1,264,892	1,203,186	1,099,444	1,099,841	1,113,996	1,309,850	1,321,842

[1] Estimates furnished by the Bureau of Accounts and Statistics, Department of Labor and Industry.

by County, by Month—July, 1932, through October, 1933

March 1933	April 1933	May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	September 1933	October 1933	County
3,901	3,747	3,461	3,187	2,946	2,595	2,109	1,972	Adams
214,289	208,719	202,881	194,229	177,560	159,927	143,037	139,547	Allegheny
9,848	9,336	9,024	8,473	7,552	6,662	6,160	7,068	Armstrong
24,157	23,522	23,740	21,453	19,210	17,092	15,858	15,471	Beaver
3,164	3,050	2,917	2,755	2,544	2,295	1,951	2,074	Bedford
35,221	34,388	32,373	30,001	26,115	22,932	19,250	18,547	Berks
17,506	17,201	17,102	16,623	13,726	12,654	11,284	11,586	Blair
4,390	4,267	4,129	3,988	3,309	3,017	2,552	2,517	Bradford
12,445	11,947	11,319	10,465	9,428	8,432	7,325	7,152	Bucks
10,287	9,840	9,578	9,065	8,201	7,462	6,994	7,104	Butler
23,324	23,293	23,104	22,020	20,067	17,392	15,486	19,367	Cambria
641	623	617	586	540	496	451	469	Cameron
9,900	9,887	9,939	9,814	9,207	8,749	8,050	8,108	Carbon
5,311	4,988	4,801	4,531	4,110	3,769	3,366	3,556	Centre
16,047	15,330	14,728	13,648	12,412	11,045	9,810	9,473	Chester
3,533	3,338	3,260	3,067	2,756	2,465	2,313	2,668	Clarion
10,308	9,973	9,793	9,359	8,395	7,614	6,968	8,256	Clearfield
3,547	3,388	3,246	3,090	2,657	2,379	2,035	2,019	Clinton
6,279	6,203	6,059	5,793	5,035	4,592	4,021	3,954	Columbia
6,912	6,703	6,466	6,197	5,363	4,984	4,438	4,360	Crawford
8,197	7,864	7,465	7,024	6,379	5,764	4,840	4,670	Cumberland
22,972	22,481	22,095	21,416	19,398	17,805	15,722	15,495	Dauphin
41,854	40,452	39,168	36,995	33,145	29,522	25,241	23,753	Delaware
4,067	3,886	3,724	3,504	3,107	2,726	2,399	2,676	Elk
26,248	25,748	24,774	23,614	20,563	18,504	16,466	15,706	Erie
22,732	22,917	23,006	22,359	20,738	18,758	17,169	22,003	Fayette
707	648	603	558	488	453	412	413	Forest
7,271	7,126	6,753	6,351	5,423	4,826	4,067	3,792	Franklin
521	495	472	441	416	376	309	304	Fulton
3,971	3,955	3,849	3,658	3,326	2,966	2,713	3,732	Greene
4,707	4,419	4,243	3,984	3,531	3,189	2,833	3,061	Huntingdon
7,191	7,158	7,217	6,890	6,333	5,512	5,039	6,767	Indiana
5,514	5,314	5,274	5,005	4,539	4,055	3,749	4,401	Jefferson
1,004	935	896	839	742	671	553	570	Juniata
43,230	43,286	45,952	46,529	43,174	40,083	33,769	32,772	Lackawanna
23,876	23,055	21,514	19,860	18,049	15,841	13,265	12,621	Lancaster
13,759	13,162	12,762	12,080	10,814	9,714	9,034	8,929	Lawrence
9,673	9,327	8,667	7,951	7,193	6,303	5,446	5,277	Lebanon
26,104	25,257	23,934	22,417	19,904	17,675	15,172	14,536	Lehigh
63,834	64,350	68,660	69,656	65,150	60,644	51,443	50,264	Luzerne
12,299	12,040	11,525	10,961	9,543	8,479	7,150	6,829	Lycoming
8,198	7,334	6,626	5,965	4,793	4,225	3,708	3,700	McKean
14,028	13,799	13,389	12,771	11,163	10,089	9,309	9,065	Mercer
5,080	4,914	4,685	4,285	3,994	3,515	3,000	3,006	Mifflin
3,574	3,467	3,357	3,187	2,916	2,696	2,409	2,363	Monroe
37,843	36,457	34,819	32,601	29,183	25,911	22,141	21,014	Montgomery
1,482	1,416	1,340	1,233	1,119	986	846	826	Montour
25,875	24,705	23,404	21,815	19,543	17,394	15,464	15,108	Northampton
17,659	17,585	18,231	18,184	16,913	15,767	13,503	13,363	Northumberland
1,750	1,681	1,659	1,594	1,414	1,323	1,167	1,201	Perry
329,208	319,358	306,771	292,901	272,189	247,644	213,786	201,840	Philadelphia
894	876	861	828	730	688	626	634	Pike
1,442	1,341	1,262	1,190	1,038	934	775	774	Potter
36,345	36,738	39,022	39,589	37,253	35,116	30,815	30,467	Schuylkill
1,865	1,755	1,667	1,548	1,443	1,325	1,143	1,151	Snyder
8,244	8,384	8,391	8,147	7,617	6,889	6,290	8,278	Somerset
773	751	754	752	707	671	580	565	Sullivan
3,316	3,257	3,250	3,154	2,847	2,693	2,464	2,464	Susquehanna
2,227	2,133	2,032	1,939	1,749	1,546	1,283	1,366	Tioga
1,614	1,570	1,511	1,426	1,238	1,114	929	892	Union
8,317	7,999	7,628	7,177	6,063	5,512	4,907	4,859	Venango
5,339	5,081	4,870	4,569	4,091	3,682	3,070	2,877	Warren
27,292	26,883	26,434	25,308	23,198	20,805	19,235	22,743	Washington
2,403	2,330	2,234	2,127	1,957	1,794	1,532	1,481	Wayne
38,990	38,622	37,659	35,871	32,344	28,716	26,412	29,844	Westmoreland
1,325	1,277	1,223	1,165	1,048	960	862	868	Wyoming
23,527	23,218	21,668	20,225	17,541	15,192	12,858	12,199	York
1,379,351	1,346,549	1,314,835	1,259,987	1,147,179	1,037,606	909,363	906,787	Total

Table A-3—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards;

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Adams	.....	3,814.98	5,172.50	8,987.30	12,706.00	12,376.52	18,649.50	7,612.78
Allegheny	289,664.82	522,069.01	656,338.89	793,702.81	812,541.76	935,188.00	1,192,028.19	1,179,839.08
Armstrong	8,976.08	11,185.10	11,390.25	18,546.35	20,870.29	23,565.00	25,555.25	25,407.95
Beaver	21,360.25	42,969.70	74,793.51	72,275.19	84,340.52	112,874.57	102,753.72	105,323.15
Bedford	1,285.00	5,893.00	7,227.00	11,637.93	9,535.59	11,203.46	18,620.87	17,420.21
Berks	24,175.45	50,541.88	81,254.98	89,832.14	123,346.29	122,978.75	160,946.40	112,237.35
Blair	32,520.43	33,571.94	35,522.20	37,422.00	47,498.32	47,144.49	58,632.91	58,492.81
Bradford	271.20	6,265.20	8,004.25	13,889.91	15,180.85	24,570.75	29,674.71	22,180.35
Bucks	13,527.00	16,212.00	15,271.35	22,323.33	27,088.63	28,240.19	32,635.78	28,076.90
Butler	10,779.94	12,082.65	15,711.39	17,551.00	20,240.22	21,649.75	27,530.21	26,910.74
Cambria	24,704.49	33,042.00	51,737.26	62,896.17	68,331.21	73,835.65	88,530.68	92,784.48
Cameron	479.20	1,290.20	2,041.20	2,622.20	3,580.90	2,908.60	4,219.90	5,284.20
Carbon	2,894.13	10,147.74	23,488.09	27,602.96	26,884.34	27,499.37	31,967.38	29,955.29
Centre	5,246.90	10,789.00	14,000.00	17,849.20	17,977.59	26,190.39	28,800.41	30,316.89
Chester	.....	15,750.23	14,599.30	24,085.11	23,982.87	25,509.26	26,559.20	24,821.37
Clarion	726.02	3,874.75	4,831.95	7,070.15	9,838.00	10,488.89	12,678.86	8,453.87
Clearfield	10,786.00	61,126.80	95,579.00	137,113.17	148,299.99	166,409.26	136,583.37	118,829.31
Clinton	3,869.15	7,853.65	15,071.23	24,034.28	23,406.51	23,455.91	31,993.30	24,408.60
Columbia	6,965.10	6,915.00	12,600.00	26,155.25	30,234.50	32,587.96	40,530.76	35,439.30
Crawford	5,647.18	8,777.41	10,138.93	14,258.94	18,082.90	19,888.14	26,200.77	21,999.34
Cumberland	6,810.29	8,742.21	13,285.15	23,626.47	29,793.61	27,597.45	33,532.71	22,052.02
Dauphin	24,238.22	39,785.34	57,418.17	68,432.55	79,873.83	81,064.96	102,862.16	87,461.91
Delaware	19,257.15	63,320.60	72,635.15	91,991.41	104,808.50	105,474.23	121,789.53	112,327.40
Elk	5,029.83	15,749.37	19,066.57	27,960.10	30,136.31	27,135.80	27,824.96	36,759.22
Erie	52,445.33	52,445.34	52,347.74	54,460.83	68,691.99	87,784.22	101,046.04	89,331.84
Fayette	17,889.34	28,172.22	44,376.64	105,312.18	90,738.42	113,335.83	135,491.08	85,705.54
Forest	.....	672.75	1,005.23	1,359.63	2,349.65	3,129.84	3,660.43	2,908.05
Franklin	235.00	8,586.19	23,770.35	25,922.50	34,538.37	35,504.20	42,739.98	28,635.03
Fulton	164.85	769.31	1,153.97	1,483.68	1,923.48	7,340.00	6,626.48	5,735.76
Greene	3,510.67	3,898.75	7,041.23	9,548.46	10,894.15	10,620.25	11,511.42	14,659.25
Huntingdon	3,390.50	7,878.00	11,041.25	13,066.75	17,031.08	19,025.03	21,155.49	24,741.07
Indiana	5,443.06	12,233.07	16,354.74	29,190.56	34,211.47	43,255.22	63,425.39	66,988.06
Jefferson	6,037.70	14,412.00	22,576.60	23,948.50	36,728.77	36,808.47	48,490.79	34,159.07
Juniata	252.25	888.40	1,479.90	1,499.65	3,170.19	3,343.92	2,725.38	3,428.68
Lackawanna	54,012.05	61,690.97	86,700.00	115,750.00	110,178.19	122,327.02	145,313.26	147,691.03
Lancaster	.....	.....	.....	19,225.92	26,358.21	38,008.32	37,040.15	53,284.06
Lawrence	2,532.00	12,384.50	23,795.33	25,982.75	35,410.97	42,907.86	55,668.79	52,036.15
Lebanon	8,999.94	11,046.61	12,759.71	17,009.88	18,367.87	20,314.81	23,698.61	19,375.04
Lehigh	28,707.74	33,182.53	40,672.90	52,588.30	65,649.19	77,207.09	106,736.09	102,138.34
Luzerne	10,370.95	153,878.89	215,240.94	312,513.25	356,330.64	335,272.66	403,634.84	354,407.33
Lycoming	.....	14,492.51	30,985.69	17,481.03	30,243.90	67,979.49	33,162.36	32,112.03
McKean	5,689.45	12,142.10	16,514.92	20,169.58	24,460.23	26,455.05	30,274.21	31,447.66
Mercer	13,798.74	15,139.16	31,968.13	55,654.35	61,076.99	59,479.48	69,883.90	68,537.54
Mifflin	5,527.70	8,522.40	17,715.45	11,293.09	21,039.99	20,289.58	30,548.19	13,570.98
Monroe	1,767.35	4,321.86	5,903.94	8,418.05	13,774.25	11,708.55	14,901.17	11,770.05
Montgomery	.....	1,064.46	14,704.78	59,929.15	97,475.02	102,470.24	127,662.94	108,088.63
Montour	1,565.90	2,190.52	2,176.70	2,221.85	9,451.75	11,233.16	17,520.95	10,520.10
Northampton	17,716.65	38,872.26	47,440.72	59,477.64	89,290.12	83,469.49	90,010.40	84,391.36
Northumberland	5,223.75	22,387.25	44,320.06	79,489.90	95,239.08	93,647.98	113,018.71	121,059.00
Perry	838.79	3,113.00	5,364.80	8,286.06	8,664.92	8,206.30	10,505.14	8,181.94
Philadelphia	189,075.62	482,777.53	777,170.16	1,094,758.39	1,256,884.60	1,343,520.73	1,594,856.83	1,405,855.55
Pike	.....	.....	.....	1,167.85	2,802.73	1,003.53	1,129.00	502.50
Potter	.....	373.80	3,351.45	9,342.80	13,032.98	17,922.00	22,183.58	13,930.29
Schuylkill	5,152.95	83,615.30	127,804.50	155,479.59	182,588.15	191,887.19	231,178.05	209,552.08
Snyder	209.60	2,982.76	6,180.68	9,818.93	8,420.27	10,206.55	13,644.18	7,039.81
Somerset	9,041.05	30,085.03	21,456.59	61,511.37	28,032.50	48,978.48	53,194.85	52,894.70
Sullivan	433.00	1,240.00	1,661.00	2,007.00	4,464.25	5,352.21	4,895.41	3,778.45
Susquehanna	20.00	7,538.00	13,218.30	23,740.00	36,307.73	36,047.48	43,189.12	19,694.56
Tioga	.....	186.25	5,190.05	12,892.80	29,025.52	30,060.63	35,084.05	23,095.09
Union	1,565.00	4,945.09	4,895.00	8,267.77	10,869.63	10,442.10	13,331.56	13,718.24
Venango	6,778.82	14,973.44	39,988.76	48,860.03	58,065.24	65,603.50	79,527.08	56,744.64
Warren	3,669.81	6,525.22	9,903.75	15,570.66	26,772.25	28,852.97	39,102.33	30,988.07
Washington	39,308.79	38,415.75	72,021.06	113,523.71	126,186.80	146,247.36	174,493.89	145,092.16
Wayne	2,660.00	2,660.00	7,925.26	8,763.14	12,166.67	13,005.45	10,828.52	11,949.69
Westmoreland	25,603.33	57,495.60	80,441.50	81,866.90	104,818.30	123,200.75	157,443.83	185,857.80
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	1,834.85	7,770.68	7,773.30	11,363.22	3,322.45
York	24,261.26	72,539.21	27,818.44	44,168.43	59,675.38	41,347.92	63,380.49	61,549.03
Total	1,073,112.77	2,322,507.79	3,293,616.54	4,466,723.68	5,119,712.10	5,592,413.56	6,676,379.71	6,054,863.22

by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total (12 Months)	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total	County
7,346.43	6,318.59	2,695.14	5,515.73	91,195.47	3,894.45	2,255.45	97,345.37	Adams
1,453,267.75	1,324,669.24	1,128,776.67	1,159,033.44	11,447,119.66	1,045,137.45	1,163,682.99	13,655,940.10	Allegheny
30,528.89	28,705.50	40,719.94	38,984.93	284,435.53	30,114.13	38,399.42	352,949.08	Armstrong
128,849.66	74,011.89	75,313.61	86,958.55	981,824.32	65,610.74	71,608.87	1,119,043.93	Beaver
22,456.84	16,164.90	15,985.39	19,581.65	157,011.84	17,449.10	14,493.81	188,954.75	Bedford
168,098.27	137,928.69	163,399.43	220,105.01	1,454,844.64	170,761.88	164,438.34	1,790,044.86	Berks
70,125.52	62,672.10	62,258.12	61,612.23	607,473.07	58,446.68	55,656.51	721,576.26	Blair
27,384.31	26,931.03	22,898.49	22,946.66	220,197.71	18,382.88	19,481.05	258,061.64	Bradford
25,683.40	23,324.80	19,247.05	14,721.00	266,351.43	16,687.03	14,227.80	297,266.26	Bucks
27,202.74	27,136.59	22,135.27	20,030.16	248,960.66	22,078.01	17,093.18	288,131.85	Butler
96,041.31	99,162.64	114,510.37	102,958.14	908,534.40	115,469.24	93,207.44	1,117,211.08	Cambria
5,582.44	3,790.41	2,134.80	1,082.24	35,016.29	601.68	121.12	35,739.09	Cameron
36,875.89	33,962.38	26,962.11	29,251.01	307,450.69	24,339.32	18,862.07	350,652.08	Carbon
28,337.64	26,005.08	27,332.44	21,852.47	254,698.01	26,829.10	21,371.74	302,898.85	Centre
33,982.54	24,405.54	30,198.07	23,039.23	266,932.72	32,502.02	21,454.12	320,888.86	Chester
13,704.75	10,300.16	11,189.19	8,700.21	101,856.80	9,433.60	11,882.16	123,172.56	Clarion
151,932.57	126,449.97	105,680.67	107,734.50	1,366,524.61	88,322.67	86,990.83	1,541,838.11	Clearfield
26,902.85	26,147.85	20,442.31	18,421.64	246,007.28	17,796.23	16,500.36	280,303.87	Clinton
45,444.71	43,921.62	38,036.17	43,189.59	362,019.96	34,317.14	31,774.77	428,111.87	Columbia
27,180.18	28,377.22	18,604.98	19,264.38	218,420.37	18,901.29	15,693.54	253,015.20	Crawford
26,373.88	27,931.02	22,414.53	23,644.74	265,804.08	22,144.06	20,786.75	308,734.89	Cumberland
94,508.33	86,917.68	70,022.14	79,346.22	871,931.51	74,778.25	99,217.97	1,045,927.73	Dauphin
114,499.69	100,570.62	88,293.69	85,053.79	1,080,021.76	84,581.96	81,367.13	1,245,970.85	Delaware
34,760.38	27,024.16	23,296.09	18,609.86	293,352.65	17,491.70	15,250.16	326,094.51	Elk
93,751.90	86,069.11	80,264.54	81,249.92	899,888.80	62,066.60	76,116.75	1,038,072.15	Erie
96,018.71	167,772.96	136,131.80	200,831.56	1,221,776.28	161,085.11	301,108.29	1,683,969.68	Fayette
3,434.77	3,427.23	1,349.04	1,118.81	24,415.43	1,733.60	1,859.47	28,008.50	Forest
41,474.54	31,248.20	28,451.40	28,901.03	330,006.79	23,450.09	24,582.44	378,039.32	Franklin
4,331.50	5,087.40	3,891.10	2,636.15	41,143.68	2,661.40	2,256.90	46,061.98	Fulton
12,661.84	10,923.70	10,117.91	12,657.31	118,044.94	23,843.35	30,287.20	172,175.49	Greene
23,037.81	21,083.76	16,370.29	13,043.72	190,864.75	11,899.08	10,453.96	213,217.79	Huntingdon
69,459.50	64,455.26	60,015.58	75,596.34	540,628.25	69,385.99	61,023.43	671,037.67	Indiana
54,358.82	48,944.10	46,138.27	52,052.38	424,655.47	43,884.14	55,970.83	524,510.44	Jefferson
3,506.23	3,253.24	3,478.90	2,347.18	29,373.92	2,780.80	3,588.80	35,743.52	Juniata
195,337.77	193,959.82	217,130.17	216,838.62	1,666,928.90	254,638.67	216,156.05	2,137,723.62	Lackawanna
43,395.77	44,259.99	43,714.87	39,423.33	344,710.62	43,986.35	41,436.91	430,133.88	Lancaster
46,034.96	56,977.63	54,689.70	42,872.06	451,292.70	40,650.28	42,636.23	534,579.21	Lawrence
24,738.71	23,382.28	18,239.11	13,407.56	211,340.13	13,269.63	2,929.35	227,539.11	Lebanon
113,754.53	103,505.82	99,486.47	89,691.13	913,320.13	89,434.01	97,691.60	1,100,445.74	Lehigh
406,974.11	425,201.99	361,975.58	372,399.54	3,708,200.72	422,506.98	281,292.30	4,412,000.00	Luzerne
26,728.15	34,331.04	56,792.67	35,841.54	380,150.41	36,910.79	51,704.92	468,766.12	Lycoming
32,187.52	21,875.74	19,031.36	17,061.51	257,309.33	13,848.54	14,405.97	285,563.84	McKean
65,178.24	63,805.77	63,872.74	58,629.03	627,024.07	64,817.88	65,448.09	757,290.04	Mercer
23,544.10	23,018.81	20,733.03	15,974.24	211,777.56	14,262.95	18,736.18	244,776.69	Mifflin
11,385.67	11,443.09	6,946.17	5,851.89	108,192.04	5,853.84	6,533.80	120,579.68	Monroe
111,920.24	89,222.29	70,344.51	80,747.67	863,629.93	61,097.24	59,013.80	983,740.97	Montgomery
14,067.94	14,350.78	11,089.18	7,931.02	104,319.85	7,613.78	7,003.76	118,937.39	Montour
93,977.60	91,858.06	62,777.02	74,102.62	833,383.94	66,359.35	88,305.18	988,048.47	Northampton
130,983.16	114,176.69	112,490.25	87,752.51	1,019,788.34	100,961.77	78,629.22	1,199,379.33	Northumberland
8,789.23	8,425.76	5,472.35	6,026.51	81,874.80	5,752.16	4,773.47	92,400.43	Perry
1,504,942.23	1,426,611.69	1,243,893.12	1,305,244.29	13,625,590.74	1,182,771.29	1,205,010.93	16,013,372.96	Philadelphia
35.00	344.13	312.00	110.00	7,406.74	93.00	513.00	8,012.74	Pike
22,661.33	18,178.31	11,483.12	7,288.17	139,747.83	6,802.30	4,876.11	151,426.24	Potter
272,478.75	257,507.99	225,651.08	235,893.58	2,178,789.21	207,661.64	191,903.81	2,578,354.66	Schuylkill
11,599.36	10,690.61	9,538.05	8,963.20	99,294.00	7,452.52	8,249.70	114,996.22	Snyder
77,228.75	73,628.20	51,480.34	46,341.37	553,873.23	41,387.89	36,027.92	631,289.04	Somerset
4,807.55	3,536.12	2,583.89	1,883.15	36,642.03	2,204.20	1,926.64	40,772.87	Sullivan
28,578.58	16,638.89	19,379.62	21,033.87	265,386.15	20,081.97	15,696.18	301,164.30	Susquehanna
30,457.29	23,885.30	4,023.94	8,357.49	202,258.41	10,093.11	8,258.15	220,609.67	Tioga
9,913.66	9,400.00	8,585.59	12,004.70	107,938.34	11,185.19	8,671.54	127,795.07	Union
67,618.22	60,313.70	49,082.25	50,081.99	597,637.67	59,805.45	52,904.35	710,347.47	Venango
42,543.59	29,725.73	29,505.69	28,303.13	291,463.20	21,827.38	27,015.30	340,305.88	Warren
182,370.57	175,239.21	129,857.84	135,752.25	1,478,509.39	96,894.86	146,659.25	1,722,063.50	Washington
11,423.31	10,624.26	8,868.93	8,374.85	109,250.08	8,837.78	8,773.03	126,860.89	Wayne
225,505.19	330,759.54	220,730.23	182,266.43	1,775,989.40	174,050.50	189,142.43	2,139,182.33	Westmoreland
10,195.37	8,578.16	6,134.28	6,471.08	63,443.39	4,000.28	3,238.99	70,682.66	Wyoming
62,220.46	49,829.92	36,250.95	39,440.88	582,482.37	42,305.82	36,953.62	661,741.81	York
7,012,683.50	6,660,381.96	5,820,901.60	5,964,432.99	60,057,729.42	5,558,280.17	5,685,583.43	71,301,593.02	Total

Table A-4—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards; by County, by Type September, 1932, through October, 1933

County	Food	Fuel	Administration	Thrift Gardens	Other	Grand Total
Adams	91,419.47	1,745.40	2,734.73	1,445.77	.....	97,345.37
Allegheny	12,900,657.82	.....	716,752.42	38,529.86	.....	13,655,940.10
Armstrong	342,933.02	.....	4,942.11	5,073.95	.....	352,949.08
Beaver	1,039,186.32	44,286.40	22,582.79	12,988.42	.....	1,119,043.93
Bedford	178,753.55	2,483.87	5,832.58	1,884.75	.....	188,954.75
Berks	1,700,017.38	45,188.72	34,724.22	8,166.94	1,947.60	1,790,044.86
Blair	655,584.40	26,911.39	25,561.40	6,442.60	7,076.47	721,576.26
Bradford	239,068.29	4,506.85	11,726.47	2,760.03	.....	258,061.64
Bucks	287,319.74	8,746.52	.....	1,200.00	.....	297,266.26
Butler	275,027.26	5,492.45	3,588.00	4,024.14	.....	288,131.85
Cambria	1,072,967.34	10,630.79	24,869.39	8,743.56	.....	1,117,211.08
Cameron	33,978.73	.....	1,175.45	584.91	.....	35,739.09
Carbon	331,486.93	8,757.03	6,677.87	3,730.25	.....	350,652.08
Centre	293,655.76	.....	5,258.29	3,984.80	.....	302,898.85
Chester	302,790.53	3,571.11	10,877.32	3,649.90	.....	320,888.86
Clarion	116,261.41	917.75	4,282.08	1,711.32	.....	123,172.56
Clearfield	1,458,898.62	33,075.44	30,413.11	19,450.94	.....	1,541,838.11
Clinton	255,695.22	10,274.62	11,039.21	3,294.82	.....	280,303.87
Columbia	412,862.06	1,000.00	10,274.81	3,975.00	.....	428,111.87
Crawford	234,418.91	8,278.19	6,946.17	3,371.93	.....	253,015.20
Cumberland	285,711.54	12,218.48	7,232.00	3,572.87	.....	308,734.89
Dauphin	969,121.37	59,362.26	12,480.38	4,963.72	.....	1,045,927.73
Delaware	1,227,521.84	.....	14,067.34	4,381.67	.....	1,245,970.85
Elk	308,912.58	5,744.06	7,751.18	3,686.69	.....	326,094.51
Erie	896,547.71	66,183.85	61,637.89	12,174.12	1,528.58	1,038,072.15
Fayette	1,564,331.10	26,632.62	49,253.29	33,541.61	10,211.06	1,683,969.68
Forest	25,971.85	.....	1,661.47	375.18	.....	28,008.50
Franklin	368,460.26	.....	6,136.44	3,442.62	.....	378,039.32
Fulton	43,771.55	.....	1,990.55	299.88	.....	46,061.98
Greene	160,753.23	1,140.10	5,288.14	4,994.02	.....	172,175.49
Huntingdon	200,528.50	1,989.10	7,568.34	3,131.85	.....	213,217.79
Indiana	620,024.09	16,676.63	24,425.45	9,911.50	.....	671,037.67
Jefferson	505,462.57	3,410.13	10,389.32	5,248.42	.....	524,510.44
Juniata	32,414.49	.....	2,142.63	1,186.40	.....	35,743.52
Lackawanna	2,095,786.38	.....	28,705.82	13,231.42	.....	2,137,723.62
Lancaster	368,696.83	35,940.54	23,357.73	2,138.78	.....	430,133.88
Lawrence	478,316.51	40,363.61	8,891.83	7,007.26	.....	534,579.21
Lebanon	218,107.01	7,437.45	284.00	1,710.65	.....	227,539.11
Lehigh	989,830.11	64,569.59	38,393.91	7,652.13	.....	1,100,445.74
Luzerne	4,242,325.10	13,340.44	140,369.58	15,964.88	.....	4,412,000.00
Lycoming	412,087.74	12,877.11	36,841.38	6,724.09	235.80	468,766.12
McKean	265,822.62	3,520.89	12,839.53	3,380.80	.....	285,563.84
Mercer	711,156.02	29,709.72	5,907.37	10,516.93	.....	757,290.04
Mifflin	214,572.88	7,782.97	12,008.22	2,451.03	7,961.59	244,776.69
Monroe	113,220.22	2,190.68	3,737.11	1,431.67	.....	120,579.68
Montgomery	963,634.63	8,598.35	5,877.09	5,630.90	.....	983,740.97
Montour	108,269.87	4,577.95	4,790.29	1,299.28	.....	118,937.39
Northampton	910,036.08	49,649.85	19,116.66	9,245.88	.....	988,048.47
Northumberland	1,153,386.45	19,877.58	16,775.70	9,339.60	.....	1,199,379.33
Perry	88,799.50	.....	2,206.87	1,394.06	.....	92,400.43
Philadelphia	14,449,170.15	445,526.64	897,136.61	6,910.19	214,629.37	16,013,372.96
Pike	7,916.76	71.85	.....	24.13	.....	8,012.74
Potter	142,836.05	.....	6,250.99	2,339.20	.....	151,426.24
Schuylkill	2,532,442.57	7,881.43	31,538.05	6,492.61	.....	2,578,354.66
Snyder	111,016.92	1,402.30	1,637.80	939.20	.....	114,996.22
Somerset	612,367.32	1,489.88	10,489.93	6,941.91	.....	631,289.04
Sullivan	38,217.35	.....	1,874.28	681.24	.....	40,772.87
Susquehanna	290,138.93	.....	7,746.02	3,279.35	.....	301,164.30
Tioga	207,973.06	3,695.36	6,642.55	2,298.70	.....	220,609.67
Union	124,737.27	.....	572.80	2,485.00	.....	127,795.07
Venango	693,100.32	414.30	11,247.57	5,585.28	.....	710,347.47
Warren	312,842.48	12,081.37	10,760.52	4,621.51	.....	340,305.88
Washington	1,667,533.73	.....	27,225.78	27,303.99	.....	1,722,063.50
Wayne	120,207.73	1,815.00	3,578.96	1,259.20	.....	126,860.89
Westmoreland	2,040,775.75	20,059.55	42,080.92	36,266.11	.....	2,139,182.33
Wyoming	66,738.11	.....	2,668.90	1,275.65	.....	70,682.66
York	641,030.54	.....	14,960.91	4,044.82	1,705.54	661,741.81
Total	66,825,608.43	1,204,098.17	2,588,798.52	437,791.89	245,296.01	71,301,593.02

Table A-5—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Miscellaneous Purposes; by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Blair	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,169.32	1,174.99	2,831.41	900.75
Fayette	.....	.....	.....	4,967.87	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mifflin	.....	.....	7,961.59	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Philadelphia	.....	2,067.24	10,668.45	12,242.13	16,458.82	14,832.76	18,340.33	19,020.23
York	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,705.54	.....	.....
Total	.....	2,067.24	18,630.04	17,210.00	18,628.14	17,713.29	21,171.74.	19,920.98

County	May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total (12 Months)	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total
Berks	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	650.80	1,296.80	1,947.60
Blair	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,076.47	.....	.....	7,076.47
Erie	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,528.58	.....	1,528.58
Fayette	.....	.....	5,243.19	.....	10,211.06	.....	.....	10,211.06
Lycoming	.....	.....	.....	19.95	19.95	89.75	126.10	235.80
Mifflin	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,961.59	.....	.....	7,961.59
Philadelphia	21,654.77	12,555.11	24,045.56	14,817.82	166,703.22	23,528.09	24,398.06	214,629.37
York	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,705.54	.....	.....	1,705.54
Total	21,654.77	12,555.11	29,288.75	14,837.77	193,677.83	25,797.22	25,820.96	245,296.01

N.B. a—Rehabilitation of Clothing b—Medical c—Establishing Community Market d—Shelter for Homeless Men e—Rehabilitation of Shoes f—Gas g—Transients h—Miscellaneous

Table A-6—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Food

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Adams	.....	3,814.98	5,172.50	8,987.30	12,442.78	11,559.08	17,827.02	5,794.74
Allegheny	289,664.82	522,069.01	656,338.89	756,261.65	766,751.85	880,984.46	1,129,543.07	1,108,302.32
Armstrong	8,976.08	11,185.10	11,390.25	18,426.35	20,770.29	23,470.00	25,475.25	23,620.15
Beaver	21,360.25	42,969.70	71,665.50	67,016.46	76,360.02	101,607.00	92,947.63	92,953.35
Bedford	1,285.00	5,893.00	7,125.00	11,028.00	8,751.00	10,361.90	16,120.15	16,981.55
Berks	24,175.45	50,541.88	81,254.98	87,722.82	119,843.95	116,467.95	145,866.31	108,599.35
Blair	32,520.43	33,571.94	35,522.20	37,422.00	37,391.40	37,953.35	47,455.56	55,787.09
Bradford	271.20	6,265.20	8,004.25	13,406.91	14,695.85	21,052.00	27,555.23	20,463.45
Bucks	13,527.00	16,212.00	15,271.35	19,421.27	25,602.93	26,445.68	30,071.53	28,076.90
Butler	10,779.94	12,082.65	15,711.39	16,615.75	19,423.14	20,499.52	25,612.15	23,731.61
Cambria	24,704.49	33,042.00	51,406.00	61,713.00	67,273.00	72,772.00	86,092.00	89,023.00
Cameron	479.20	1,290.20	2,041.20	2,622.20	3,580.90	2,908.60	4,219.90	5,262.20
Carbon	2,894.13	10,147.74	22,273.54	26,372.23	25,280.76	25,460.26	29,481.16	27,021.96
Centre	5,246.90	10,789.00	14,000.00	17,800.00	17,977.59	25,767.35	28,325.00	27,626.06
Chester	.....	15,750.23	14,599.30	23,689.49	23,214.75	23,688.94	26,086.87	22,604.69
Clarion	726.02	3,874.75	4,831.95	7,070.15	9,838.00	10,136.32	11,749.60	7,970.55
Clearfield	10,786.00	57,666.61	95,579.00	130,870.00	137,788.52	158,715.51	133,338.60	112,501.25
Clinton	3,869.15	7,484.65	14,672.98	22,190.05	21,308.45	20,741.37	27,248.65	21,882.71
Columbia	6,965.10	6,915.00	12,600.00	25,875.00	30,100.00	32,019.88	39,274.92	34,432.87
Crawford	5,647.18	8,777.41	9,595.76	12,861.66	16,569.40	17,758.64	24,098.39	21,067.65
Cumberland	6,810.29	8,742.21	13,285.15	22,057.09	26,456.44	24,300.01	29,021.50	20,653.78
Dauphin	24,238.22	39,286.33	52,706.66	59,988.77	69,817.86	70,108.19	90,568.84	80,727.70
Delaware	19,257.15	63,320.60	72,635.15	91,991.41	104,808.50	104,449.75	120,392.73	107,956.60
Elk	5,029.83	15,749.37	19,066.57	27,388.40	28,993.70	25,997.20	25,901.65	34,883.50
Erie	52,445.33	52,445.34	52,347.74	52,617.98	61,252.85	64,231.09	72,436.78	72,166.47
Fayette	17,889.34	28,172.22	44,376.64	98,310.27	88,697.27	106,422.00	126,306.28	79,378.55
Forest	.....	672.75	1,005.23	1,359.63	2,341.30	2,990.45	3,494.00	2,748.35
Franklin	235.00	8,586.19	23,770.35	25,922.50	34,191.32	35,119.50	42,293.55	28,170.90
Fulton	164.85	769.31	1,153.97	1,483.68	1,923.48	7,295.00	6,366.43	5,176.28
Greene	3,510.67	3,898.75	7,041.23	9,187.73	10,511.21	9,616.95	10,515.85	10,250.55
Huntingdon	3,390.50	7,878.00	11,041.25	12,782.25	16,279.00	17,943.25	19,559.50	20,974.25
Indiana	5,443.06	12,091.40	15,411.55	26,201.22	30,152.18	39,202.09	56,823.70	55,063.64
Jefferson	6,037.70	14,412.00	22,576.60	23,948.50	36,282.25	36,225.00	47,519.05	30,277.25
Juniata	252.25	888.40	1,479.90	1,474.65	3,045.74	3,221.82	2,520.15	2,544.98
Lackawanna	54,012.05	61,690.97	86,700.00	115,750.00	109,469.98	121,397.62	144,294.11	146,666.78
Lancaster	.....	.....	.....	19,225.92	21,267.07	30,466.27	29,846.43	44,605.95
Lawrence	2,532.00	12,384.50	23,795.33	25,375.83	31,345.06	34,839.23	42,080.64	45,367.59
Lebanon	8,999.94	11,046.61	12,243.71	16,053.88	17,288.87	18,460.31	21,498.11	18,865.64
Lehigh	28,707.74	31,431.90	39,171.60	47,011.65	55,150.75	61,185.35	84,990.60	93,004.75
Luzerne	10,370.95	153,878.89	215,240.94	305,163.08	345,504.26	316,769.41	384,619.78	343,204.96
Lycoming	.....	14,422.97	30,296.89	15,710.13	24,948.77	62,111.56	27,031.99	26,043.36
McKean	5,689.45	12,142.10	16,514.92	20,169.58	23,241.65	23,832.74	28,778.33	26,902.20
Mercer	13,798.74	15,139.16	30,014.23	50,508.16	56 700.96	54,911.18	63,972.84	61,740.43
Mifflin	5,527.70	8,522.40	9,753.86	10,853.21	18,080.69	17,765.89	27,571.43	11,151.42
Monroe	1,767.35	4,321.86	5,903.94	8,111.05	13,133.38	10,896.72	14,053.79	10,859.49
Montgomery	.....	1,064.46	14,704.78	59,771.87	97,156.41	102,137.64	118,278.92	103,717.86
Montour	1,565.90	2,190.52	2,176.70	2,221.85	8,776.00	9,519.25	14,217.50	9,445.50
Northampton	17,716.65	38,872.26	45,077.25	55,387.60	79,486.89	72,798.98	79,792.50	74,558.61
Northumberland	5,223.75	22,387.25	44,000.06	77,991.50	90,392.20	87,865.50	106,814.23	109,461.82
Perry	838.79	3,113.00	5,364.80	8,286.06	8,664.92	8,028.53	10,311.53	7,186.64
Philadelphia	178,266.36	436,085.89	664,626.41	939,391.37	1,075,688.26	1,139,630.97	1,402,454.08	1,308,799.11
Pike	.....	.....	.....	1,156.00	2,760.63	985.63	1,129.00	502.50
Potter	.....	373.80	3,351.45	9,342.80	12,605.85	17,309.00	21,405.55	13,149.25
Schuylkill	5,152.95	83,615.30	127,804.50	154,374.12	180,410.58	188,813.47	227,223.42	205,389.00
Snyder	209.60	2,982.76	6,180.68	9,818.93	8,391.02	8,799.90	13,644.18	6,057.77
Somerset	9,041.05	30,085.03	21,456.59	61,511.37	28,032.50	48,000.00	50,920.56	48,235.60
Sullivan	433.00	1,240.00	1,661.00	2,007.00	4,464.25	5,347.00	4,693.00	3,625.00
Susquehanna	20.00	7,538.00	13,218.30	23,740.00	36,050.75	35,476.06	39,229.05	19,202.55
Tioga	.....	186.25	5,190.05	12,475.10	28,164.42	28,454.17	33,063.05	21,833.60
Union	1,565.00	4,945.09	4,895.00	8,267.77	10,869.63	10,442.10	11,446.56	13,118.24
Venango	6,778.82	14,973.44	39,988.76	48,860.03	57,117.38	64,562.96	78,497.81	54,339.75
Warren	3,669.81	6,525.22	9,903.75	15,198.50	24,604.80	25,522.55	31,351.50	26,878.60
Washington	39,308.79	38,415.75	72,021.06	113,523.71	124,695.92	144,097.34	172,349.96	143,136.78
Wayne	2,660.00	2,660.00	7,925.26	8,560.00	11,390.00	12,100.00	10,000.00	11,602.50
Westmoreland	25,603.33	57,495.60	80,441.50	80,560.85	102,127.95	120,770.20	152,286.83	174,730.26
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	1,834.85	7,641.88	7,640.07	11,207.05	3,222.45
York	24,261.26	72,539.21	27,818.44	44,168.43	59,675.38	36,877.62	62,062.39	58,949.33
Total	1,062,303.51	2,269,526.11	3,154,395.79	4,194,468.57	4,745,016.74	5,115,307.33	6,143,225.72	5,650,231.54

Relief; by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total (12 Months)	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total	County
7,100.70	6,066.54	2,401.06	5,213.07	86,379.77	3,554.55	1,485.15	91,419.47	Adams
1,360,967.16	1,250,183.80	1,050,702.72	1,083,480.17	10,855,249.92	964,417.09	1,080,990.81	12,900,657.82	Allegheny
27,103.00	28,410.50	40,036.00	38,337.00	277,199.97	28,993.25	36,739.80	342,933.02	Armstrong
120,172.73	69,805.87	72,591.78	82,606.04	912,056.33	61,751.87	65,378.12	1,039,186.32	Beaver
21,763.10	15,538.55	15,364.30	18,754.50	148,966.05	16,602.10	13,185.40	178,753.55	Bedford
160,707.77	131,843.11	153,388.56	211,284.46	1,391,696.59	161,188.13	147,132.66	1,700,017.38	Berks
63,525.48	58,274.39	57,982.01	57,017.68	554,423.53	53,073.75	48,087.12	655,584.40	Blair
25,390.65	25,378.95	21,132.30	20,688.55	204,304.54	16,951.53	17,812.22	239,068.29	Bradford
24,640.90	23,167.30	19,247.05	14,721.00	256,404.91	16,687.03	14,227.80	287,319.74	Bucks
24,589.28	26,439.71	21,743.77	19,685.16	236,914.07	21,504.01	16,609.18	275,027.26	Butler
85,682.17	94,614.00	110,079.00	98,806.07	875,206.73	111,379.90	86,380.71	1,072,967.34	Cambria
5,078.40	3,261.45	1,941.60	803.30	33,489.15	368.46	121.12	33,978.73	Cameron
35,419.97	32,642.32	26,107.70	28,032.00	291,133.77	22,971.76	17,381.40	331,486.93	Carbon
27,865.00	23,907.00	25,980.00	21,852.47	247,136.37	26,829.10	19,690.29	293,655.76	Centre
30,282.77	22,541.48	28,644.66	21,254.12	252,357.30	30,521.05	19,912.18	302,790.53	Chester
11,518.15	9,780.35	10,570.10	8,172.10	96,238.04	8,900.00	11,123.37	116,261.41	Clarion
139,641.50	118,261.75	97,169.00	103,371.75	1,295,689.49	83,524.25	79,684.88	1,458,898.62	Clearfield
24,671.12	24,260.59	19,022.81	16,981.74	224,334.27	15,326.15	16,034.80	255,695.22	Clinton
40,896.68	41,918.00	36,292.23	41,263.15	348,552.83	32,534.46	31,774.77	412,862.06	Columbia
26,001.05	24,027.46	17,659.12	18,326.75	202,390.47	17,901.11	14,127.33	234,418.91	Crawford
24,084.74	26,295.10	21,481.50	22,682.73	245,870.54	20,712.55	19,128.45	285,711.54	Cumberland
90,744.68	85,075.69	67,624.41	76,978.61	807,865.96	71,463.29	89,792.12	969,121.37	Dauphin
112,040.50	98,409.45	86,483.30	83,349.00	1,065,094.14	82,892.15	79,535.55	1,227,521.84	Delaware
32,399.85	24,210.29	21,483.55	17,427.47	278,531.38	16,436.55	13,944.65	308,912.58	Elk
76,707.58	76,853.94	73,082.15	74,825.66	781,412.91	52,517.97	62,616.83	896,547.71	Erie
77,467.50	146,148.98	122,592.32	190,250.60	1,126,011.97	151,300.11	287,019.02	1,564,331.10	Fayette
2,899.90	3,217.25	1,176.38	913.10	22,818.34	1,529.59	1,623.92	25,971.85	Forest
37,644.60	30,845.00	28,056.80	28,289.40	323,125.11	22,106.55	23,228.60	368,460.26	Franklin
4,002.50	4,793.90	3,592.20	2,342.35	39,063.95	2,661.40	2,046.20	43,771.55	Fulton
12,187.15	9,410.45	9,447.75	11,956.55	107,534.84	23,843.35	29,375.04	160,753.23	Greene
22,053.00	20,247.25	15,677.25	12,255.50	180,081.00	10,919.90	9,527.60	200,528.50	Huntingdon
63,941.10	61,622.61	57,322.33	72,450.39	495,725.27	66,202.37	58,096.45	620,024.09	Indiana
53,048.75	46,333.75	44,194.24	50,732.43	411,587.52	41,035.32	52,839.73	505,462.57	Jefferson
3,177.78	2,824.14	3,164.90	2,158.18	26,752.89	2,474.80	3,186.80	32,414.49	Juniata
186,137.21	189,456.29	213,676.49	213,764.82	1,643,016.32	247,620.26	205,149.80	2,095,786.38	Lackawanna
34,132.03	39,131.77	39,519.10	35,199.61	293,394.15	39,332.88	35,969.80	368,696.83	Lancaster
42,049.85	48,942.75	51,699.46	41,187.49	401,599.73	38,116.59	38,600.19	478,316.51	Lawrence
23,439.44	22,893.50	18,153.01	13,407.56	202,350.58	13,267.63	2,488.80	218,107.01	Lebanon
106,143.06	95,792.31	93,412.25	84,285.19	820,287.15	82,441.30	87,101.66	989,830.11	Lehigh
387,247.98	407,846.32	348,534.29	359,401.84	3,577,782.70	403,536.68	261,005.72	4,242,325.10	Luzerne
20,000.00	28,611.33	53,102.66	32,338.85	334,618.51	32,226.86	45,242.37	412,087.74	Lycoming
30,095.27	20,123.18	17,398.72	15,560.56	240,448.70	12,645.32	12,728.60	265,822.62	McKean
62,785.44	62,460.31	61,816.91	57,665.21	591,513.57	62,615.96	57,026.49	711,156.02	Mercer
21,321.41	21,611.98	19,215.79	14,263.16	185,638.94	12,544.87	16,389.07	214,572.88	Mifflin
10,589.61	10,638.92	6,567.81	5,470.00	102,313.92	5,247.80	5,658.50	113,220.22	Monroe
110,887.89	88,289.28	69,652.14	80,100.22	845,761.47	60,207.80	57,665.36	963,634.63	Montgomery
13,245.25	13,538.56	10,035.00	7,213.75	94,145.78	7,120.33	7,003.76	108,269.87	Montour
93,362.85	87,478.53	58,429.74	69,230.89	772,192.75	62,754.06	75,089.27	910,036.08	Northampton
126,425.10	111,952.30	110,036.02	85,083.01	977,632.74	97,124.49	78,629.22	1,153,386.45	Northumberland
8,112.18	8,175.55	5,238.65	5,826.75	79,147.40	5,390.60	4,261.50	88,799.50	Perry
1,403,326.67	1,338,980.26	1,147,001.97	1,218,292.11	12,252,543.46	1,087,089.47	1,109,537.22	14,449,170.15	Philadelphia
35.00	320.00	312.00	110.00	7,310.76	93.00	513.00	7,916.76	Pike
21,951.70	15,191.70	10,913.05	6,692.25	132,286.40	6,288.77	4,260.88	142,836.05	Potter
267,494.17	254,798.63	222,055.26	233,241.39	2,150,372.52	200,591.65	181,478.40	2,532,442.57	Schuylkill
11,360.24	10,246.36	9,156.26	8,467.00	95,314.70	7,452.52	8,249.70	111,016.92	Snyder
72,849.09	69,828.90	49,134.05	46,300.37	535,395.11	41,280.44	35,691.77	612,367.32	Somerset
4,016.50	3,272.50	2,176.00	1,635.00	34,570.25	1,957.20	1,689.90	38,217.35	Sullivan
27,986.05	16,058.70	18,735.00	20,343.75	257,598.21	18,688.02	13,852.70	290,138.93	Susquehanna
27,928.86	22,224.56	3,001.00	7,404.50	189,925.56	9,789.35	8,258.15	207,973.06	Tioga
9,913.66	9,400.00	8,585.59	11,431.90	104,880.54	11,185.19	8,671.54	124,737.27	Union
64,517.28	58,166.72	47,056.15	48,792.32	583,651.42	58,426.75	51,022.15	693,100.32	Venango
38,891.50	27,815.95	27,578.25	26,401.75	264,342.18	21,684.90	26,815.40	312,842.48	Warren
180,338.58	148,926.80	124,446.95	133,010.32	1,434,271.96	91,663.13	141,598.64	1,667,533.73	Washington
11,033.50	9,139.00	8,353.50	7,993.40	103,417.16	8,472.82	8,317.75	120,207.73	Wayne
201,418.25	317,484.00	213,910.00	173,988.50	1,700,817.27	165,566.99	174,391.49	2,040,775.75	Westmoreland
9,620.55	7,475.70	5,698.60	6,031.84	60,372.99	3,513.43	2,851.69	66,738.11	Wyoming
58,680.79	46,944.63	34,810.64	38,207.84	564,995.96	40,189.21	35,845.37	641,030.54	York
6,562,754.17	6,279,828.24	5,492,847.16	5,665,605.90	56,335,510.78	5,217,201.72	5,272,895.93	66,825,608.43	Total

Table A-7—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards For Fuel

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Adams	.....	.....	.....	.....	124.00	680.45	703.85	233.20
Allegheny	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Armstrong	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Beaver	.....	.....	3,128.01	4,884.18	7,133.23	10,128.68	8,565.56	4,992.24
Bedford	.....	.....	102.00	389.40	544.81	511.61	305.22	107.63
Berks	.....	.....	.....	2,109.32	3,502.34	6,510.80	15,080.09	.....
Blair	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,109.60	7,032.09	7,350.44	800.83
Bradford	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,033.75	1,360.60	112.50
Bucks	.....	.....	.....	2,902.06	1,485.70	1,794.51	2,564.25	.....
Butler	.....	.....	.....	705.25	817.08	825.23	1,593.06	1,249.99
Cambria	.....	.....	331.26	1,183.17	1,058.21	1,063.65	1,664.68	1,773.27
Cameron	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carbon	.....	.....	1,214.55	1,230.73	1,563.58	1,992.16	2,043.55	169.04
Centre	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Chester	.....	.....	.....	395.62	638.12	1,427.13	6.85	.....
Clarion	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	102.57	413.47	97.14
Clearfield	.....	3,460.19	.....	5,988.35	10,283.21	7,451.41	1,585.80	602.38
Clinton	.....	369.00	398.25	1,372.65	1,498.78	1,822.56	1,774.90	1,374.42
Columbia	.....	.....	.....	280.25	134.50	417.00	133.50	.....
Crawford	.....	.....	543.17	1,015.32	1,098.45	1,641.02	1,483.17	298.18
Cumberland	.....	.....	.....	1,363.59	3,129.15	2,926.05	3,799.60	75.55
Dauphin	.....	499.01	4,711.51	8,218.78	9,733.06	10,114.16	11,408.32	2,493.66
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Elk	.....	.....	.....	571.70	1,142.61	674.42	1,380.77	567.29
Erie	.....	.....	.....	1,842.85	7,439.14	18,348.97	22,949.72	6,562.24
Fayette	.....	.....	.....	884.04	851.02	4,944.87	6,405.27	788.62
Forest	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Franklin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fulton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Greene	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	640.36	499.74	.....
Huntingdon	.....	.....	.....	184.50	355.55	486.10	715.75	200.15
Indiana	.....	141.67	943.19	2,138.60	3,061.12	3,000.00	4,841.69	2,148.56
Jefferson	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	135.80	553.01	102.91
Juniata	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lackawanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lancaster	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,041.14	5,696.82	4,961.92	4,987.00
Lawrence	.....	.....	.....	606.92	4,065.91	8,068.63	13,588.15	6,668.56
Lebanon	.....	.....	516.00	956.00	1,079.00	1,854.50	2,200.50	509.40
Lehigh	.....	1,750.63	1,501.30	5,576.65	10,498.44	13,784.54	17,251.69	2,111.07
Luzerne	.....	.....	.....	.....	883.37	5,413.93	7,043.14	.....
Lycoming	.....	69.54	688.80	1,770.90	2,369.29	3,099.20	3,296.78	615.66
McKean	.....	.....	.....	.....	905.07	1,436.51	.....	267.11
Mercer	.....	.....	1,953.90	5,146.19	4,376.03	4,568.30	5,911.06	89.67
Mifflin	.....	.....	.....	439.88	2,209.56	1,775.37	2,225.91	254.50
Monroe	.....	.....	.....	307.00	432.80	537.53	553.18	239.44
Montgomery	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,776.75	431.75
Montour	.....	.....	.....	.....	675.75	1,321.50	1,638.75	258.75
Northampton	.....	.....	2,363.47	4,090.04	9,791.63	10,281.76	9,819.70	2,248.72
Northumberland	.....	.....	320.00	1,400.40	4,730.62	4,853.36	4,513.83	2,839.45
Perry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Philadelphia	.....	.....	43,581.18	80,764.52	99,085.30	120,919.89	100,082.94	1,092.81
Pike	.....	.....	.....	11.85	42.10	17.90	.....	.....
Potter	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Schuylkill	.....	.....	.....	.....	891.22	1,582.44	2,094.58	1,013.38
Snyder	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,371.30	.....	.....
Somerset	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	220.79	211.39	171.40
Sullivan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Susquehanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Tioga	.....	.....	.....	217.70	502.33	962.28	1,221.91	562.68
Union	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Venango	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Warren	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,256.24	2,245.54	3,424.32	2,303.66
Washington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wayne	.....	.....	.....	100.00	610.00	605.00	500.00	.....
Westmoreland	.....	.....	.....	949.25	2,136.16	1,983.75	4,128.85	1,889.61
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
York	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	.....	6,290.04	62,296.59	139,995.86	214,285.22	280,306.19	291,628.21	53,304.42

Relief; by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total (12 Months)	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total	County
3.90	.....	.....	.....	1,745.40	.....	.....	1,745.40	Adams
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Allegheny
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Armstrong
3,636.70	.....	5.00	12.00	42,485.60	.....	1,800.80	44,286.40	Beaver
53.25	23.50	11.50	21.75	2,070.67	53.25	359.95	2,483.87	Bedford
.....	698.78	2,642.89	2,831.92	33,376.14	2,414.04	9,398.54	45,188.72	Berks
311.78	83.14	289.26	583.85	23,560.99	659.52	2,690.88	26,911.39	Blair
.....	.....	.....	.....	4,506.85	.....	.....	4,506.85	Bradford
.....	.....	.....	.....	8,746.52	.....	.....	8,746.52	Bucks
183.96	117.88	.....	.....	5,492.45	.....	.....	5,492.45	Butler
1,152.10	.....	9.85	18.45	8,254.64	.....	2,376.15	10,630.79	Cambria
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Cameron
323.87	123.40	41.10	12.00	8,713.98	.....	43.05	8,757.03	Carbon
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Centre
653.99	182.79	266.61	.....	3,571.11	.....	.....	3,571.11	Chester
5.00	22.48	113.36	28.43	782.45	.....	135.30	917.75	Clarion
253.45	67.10	66.05	84.35	29,842.29	633.30	2,599.85	33,075.44	Clearfield
254.34	456.97	155.49	151.34	9,628.70	180.36	465.56	10,274.62	Clinton
.....	.....	.....	34.75	1,000.00	.....	.....	1,000.00	Columbia
522.08	358.40	163.43	204.75	7,327.97	348.79	601.43	8,278.19	Crawford
82.05	15.50	15.77	69.26	11,476.52	204.54	537.42	12,218.48	Cumberland
1,516.79	616.82	1,330.92	1,394.09	52,037.12	1,354.61	5,970.53	59,362.26	Dauphin
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Delaware
437.27	380.03	166.74	17.00	5,337.83	119.61	286.62	5,744.06	Elk
1,795.00	1,110.17	99.51	.....	60,147.60	.....	6,036.25	66,183.85	Erie
1,756.03	756.61	365.05	1,841.18	18,592.69	1,034.46	7,005.47	26,632.62	Fayette
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Forest
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Franklin
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Fulton
.....	.....	.....	.....	1,140.10	.....	.....	1,140.10	Greene
37.15	1.40	3.00	.....	1,983.60	2.00	3.50	1,989.10	Huntingdon
203.71	62.65	17.19	38.36	16,596.74	79.89	.....	16,676.63	Indiana
766.41	757.06	323.61	173.78	2,812.58	154.55	443.00	3,410.13	Jefferson
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Juniata
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Lackawanna
6,059.84	2,399.24	873.14	798.16	30,817.26	898.68	4,224.60	35,940.54	Lancaster
3,675.60	2,292.65	319.69	.....	39,286.11	.....	1,077.50	40,363.61	Lawrence
141.00	22.50	.....	.....	7,278.90	2.00	156.55	7,437.45	Lebanon
1,283.63	1,653.96	878.64	1,171.56	57,462.11	1,761.24	5,346.24	64,569.59	Lehigh
.....	.....	.....	.....	13,340.44	.....	.....	13,340.44	Luzerne
367.83	153.36	116.15	8.20	12,555.71	16.65	304.75	12,877.11	Lycoming
306.23	158.44	150.00	64.70	3,288.06	53.27	179.56	3,520.89	McKean
822.29	148.79	561.26	681.65	24,259.14	410.63	5,039.95	29,709.72	Mercer
.....	.....	2.75	8.25	6,916.22	77.75	789.00	7,782.97	Mifflin
72.56	18.12	7.36	11.04	2,179.03	11.65	.....	2,190.68	Monroe
2.75	.....	.....	.....	8,211.25	.....	387.10	8,598.35	Montgomery
36.75	169.35	240.50	83.65	4,425.00	152.95	.....	4,577.95	Montour
11.90	.....	561.46	1,296.18	40,464.86	.....	9,184.99	49,649.85	Northampton
1,000.43	219.49	.....	.....	19,877.58	.....	.....	19,877.58	Northumberland
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Perry
.....	.....	.....	.....	445,526.64	.....	.....	445,526.64	Philadelphia
.....	.....	.....	.....	71.85	.....	.....	71.85	Pike
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Potter
1,976.86	151.32	12.30	121.23	7,843.33	38.10	.....	7,881.43	Schuylkill
12.00	.....	19.00	.....	1,402.30	.....	.....	1,402.30	Snyder
263.75	80.90	57.05	41.00	1,046.28	107.45	336.15	1,489.88	Somerset
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Sullivan
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Susquehanna
155.21	68.75	.....	4.50	3,695.36	.....	.....	3,695.36	Tioga
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Union
.....	.....	.....	130.56	130.56	69.55	214.19	414.30	Venango
1,498.37	407.74	322.45	280.67	11,738.99	142.48	199.90	12,081.37	Warren
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Washington
.....	.....	.....	.....	1,815.00	.....	.....	1,815.00	Wayne
1,631.87	91.26	297.17	669.45	13,777.37	241.25	6,040.93	20,059.55	Westmoreland
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Wyoming
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	York
33,267.70	13,870.55	10,505.25	12,888.06	1,118,639.89	11,222.57	74,235.71	1,204,098.17	Total

Table A-8—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Administration

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Adams	.....	.....	.....	.....	139.22	136.99	118.63	139.07
Allegheny	.....	.....	.....	37,441.16	45,789.91	54,203.54	62,485.12	64,774.73
Armstrong	.....	.....	.....	120.00	100.00	95.00	80.00	100.00
Beaver	.....	.....	.....	374.55	847.27	1,138.89	1,240.53	1,090.88
Bedford	.....	.....	.....	220.53	239.78	329.95	310.75	331.03
Berks	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Blair	.....	.....	.....	.....	828.00	984.06	995.50	1,004.14
Bradford	.....	.....	.....	483.00	485.00	485.00	758.88	803.40
Bucks	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Butler	.....	.....	.....	230.00	.....	325.00	325.00	295.00
Cambria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	774.00	1,988.21
Cameron	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	22.00
Carbon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	46.95	442.67	400.24
Centre	.....	.....	.....	49.20	.....	423.04	475.41	471.08
Chester	.....	.....	.....	.....	130.00	393.19	465.48	928.84
Clarion	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	250.00	515.79	386.18
Clearfield	.....	.....	.....	254.82	228.26	242.34	1,658.97	2,345.68
Clinton	.....	.....	.....	471.58	599.28	891.98	1,056.25	931.72
Columbia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	151.08	1,122.34	1,006.43
Crawford	.....	.....	.....	381.96	415.05	488.48	619.21	633.51
Cumberland	.....	.....	.....	205.79	208.02	371.39	711.61	509.21
Dauphin	.....	.....	.....	225.00	322.91	842.61	885.00	834.58
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,024.48	1,396.80	1,474.05
Elk	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	464.18	542.54	498.43
Erie	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5,204.16	5,659.54	8,258.13
Fayette	.....	.....	.....	1,150.00	1,190.13	1,968.96	2,779.53	2,650.40
Forest	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.35	139.39	166.43	159.70
Franklin	.....	.....	.....	.....	347.05	384.70	446.43	464.13
Fulton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	45.00	260.05	259.60
Greene	.....	.....	.....	360.73	382.94	362.94	495.83	437.72
Huntingdon	.....	.....	.....	100.00	396.53	595.68	880.24	834.67
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	850.74	998.17	1,053.13	1,760.00	2,275.86
Jefferson	.....	.....	.....	.....	446.52	447.67	418.73	561.64
Juniata	.....	.....	.....	25.00	124.45	122.10	205.23	180.30
Lackawanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	708.21	929.40	1,019.15	1,024.25
Lancaster	.....	.....	.....	.....	50.00	1,845.23	2,231.80	2,408.93
Lawrence	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lebanon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lehigh	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,237.20	4,493.80	4,178.34
Luzerne	.....	.....	.....	7,350.17	9,943.01	13,089.32	11,971.92	11,202.37
Lycoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,925.84	2,768.73	2,833.59	3,401.65
McKean	.....	.....	.....	.....	313.51	1,185.80	1,495.88	1,211.27
Mercer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Mifflin	.....	.....	.....	.....	749.74	748.32	750.85	896.97
Monroe	.....	.....	.....	.....	208.07	274.30	294.20	250.40
Montgomery	.....	.....	.....	157.28	318.61	332.60	424.07	343.53
Montour	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	392.41	661.87	676.85
Northampton	.....	.....	.....	.....	11.60	388.75	398.20	388.02
Northumberland	.....	.....	.....	98.00	116.26	929.12	1,690.65	1,691.23
Perry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	177.77	193.61	187.80
Philadelphia	10,809.26	44,624.40	58,294.12	62,360.37	65,652.22	68,137.11	73,979.48	76,334.42
Pike	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Potter	.....	.....	.....	.....	427.13	613.00	778.03	781.04
Schuylkill	.....	.....	.....	1,105.47	1,286.35	1,491.28	1,459.14	1,257.60
Snyder	.....	.....	.....	.....	29.25	35.35	.....	42.84
Somerset	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	757.69	2,062.90	1,862.20
Sullivan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.21	202.41	153.45
Susquehanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	256.98	571.42	680.72	492.01
Tioga	.....	.....	.....	200.00	358.77	644.18	799.09	698.81
Union	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Venango	.....	.....	.....	.....	947.86	1,040.54	1,029.27	1,054.85
Warren	.....	.....	.....	372.16	911.21	1,084.88	1,214.99	1,173.01
Washington	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,490.88	2,150.02	2,143.93	1,955.38
Wayne	.....	.....	.....	103.14	166.67	300.45	328.52	347.19
Westmoreland	.....	.....	.....	356.80	554.19	446.80	1,028.15	1,122.30
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	128.80	133.23	156.17	100.00
York	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,764.76	1,318.10	1,366.32
Totals	10,809.26	44,624.40	58,294.12	115,047.45	141,782.00	179,086.75	205,692.98	213,653.59

Expenses; by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total (12 Months)	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total	County
241.83	252.05	294.08	302.66	1,624.53	339.90	770.30	2,734.73	Adams
70,908.44	69,132.00	73,086.71	75,518.27	553,339.88	80,720.36	82,692.18	716,752.42	Allegheny
142.39	295.00	581.29	647.93	2,161.61	1,120.88	1,659.62	4,942.11	Armstrong
1,155.82	1,518.69	2,656.83	4,270.51	14,293.97	3,858.87	4,429.95	22,582.79	Beaver
640.49	602.85	609.59	805.40	4,090.37	793.75	948.46	5,832.58	Bedford
4,831.29	5,073.76	5,758.88	5,941.04	21,604.97	6,508.91	6,610.34	34,724.22	Berks
1,650.23	2,510.00	3,986.85	4,010.70	15,969.48	4,713.41	4,878.51	25,561.40	Blair
935.66	1,093.22	1,324.02	2,258.11	8,626.29	1,431.35	1,668.83	11,726.47	Bradford
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Bucks
320.00	345.00	345.00	345.00	2,530.00	574.00	484.00	3,588.00	Butler
2,221.27	3,793.03	3,419.34	4,133.62	16,329.47	4,089.34	4,450.58	24,869.39	Cambria
206.29	241.80	193.20	278.94	942.23	233.22	.....	1,175.45	Cameron
567.45	600.66	607.71	1,207.01	3,872.69	1,367.56	1,437.62	6,677.87	Carbon
472.64	695.73	989.74	.....	3,576.84	.....	1,681.45	5,258.29	Centre
1,049.31	1,315.68	1,286.80	1,785.11	7,354.41	1,980.97	1,541.94	10,877.32	Chester
470.28	497.33	505.73	499.68	3,124.99	533.60	623.49	4,282.08	Clarion
3,964.13	4,507.57	4,291.72	4,087.90	21,581.39	4,165.12	4,666.60	30,413.11	Clearfield
1,114.70	1,169.29	1,226.13	1,288.56	8,749.49	2,289.72	.....	11,039.21	Clinton
1,096.83	1,479.82	1,743.94	1,891.69	8,492.13	1,782.68	.....	10,274.81	Columbia
657.05	716.93	684.93	732.88	5,330.00	651.39	964.78	6,946.17	Crawford
610.38	615.00	760.00	892.75	4,884.15	1,226.97	1,120.88	7,232.00	Cumberland
857.89	1,177.06	962.14	973.52	7,080.71	1,960.35	3,439.32	12,480.38	Dauphin
1,489.24	1,674.95	1,781.64	1,704.79	10,545.95	1,689.81	1,831.58	14,067.34	Delaware
683.04	1,210.80	1,232.37	1,165.39	5,796.75	935.54	1,018.89	7,751.18	Elk
7,846.09	6,651.24	6,110.75	6,424.26	46,154.17	8,020.05	7,463.67	61,637.89	Erie
3,658.11	5,250.51	6,031.53	8,739.78	33,418.95	8,750.54	7,083.80	49,253.29	Fayette
189.87	179.80	172.66	205.71	1,221.91	204.01	235.55	1,661.47	Forest
387.32	403.20	394.60	611.63	3,439.06	1,343.54	1,353.84	6,136.44	Franklin
329.00	293.50	298.90	293.80	1,779.85	.....	210.70	1,990.55	Fulton
474.69	516.08	644.29	700.76	4,375.98	.....	912.16	5,288.14	Greene
710.26	745.11	667.04	742.62	5,672.15	977.18	919.01	7,568.34	Huntingdon
2,903.19	2,770.00	2,676.06	3,107.59	18,394.74	3,103.73	2,926.98	24,425.45	Indiana
543.66	563.29	879.27	1,146.17	5,006.95	2,694.27	2,688.10	10,389.32	Jefferson
198.95	190.60	199.00	189.00	1,434.63	306.00	402.00	2,142.63	Juniata
1,136.50	1,752.35	1,687.50	2,423.80	10,681.16	7,018.41	11,006.25	28,705.82	Lackawanna
2,517.68	2,558.60	3,322.63	3,425.56	18,360.43	3,754.79	1,242.51	23,357.73	Lancaster
309.51	662.67	817.85	1,609.57	3,399.60	2,533.69	2,958.54	8,891.83	Lawrence
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	284.00	284.00	Lebanon
4,401.19	4,255.55	4,118.28	4,234.38	27,918.74	5,231.47	5,243.70	38,393.91	Lehigh
10,904.13	11,873.03	11,781.05	12,997.70	101,112.70	18,970.30	20,286.58	140,369.58	Luzerne
3,596.22	3,657.72	3,573.86	3,474.54	26,232.15	4,577.53	6,031.70	36,841.38	Lycoming
1,558.40	1,508.02	1,482.64	1,436.25	10,191.77	1,149.95	1,497.81	12,839.53	McKean
.....	198.17	254.09	282.17	734.43	1,791.29	3,381.65	5,907.37	Mercer
1,290.77	1,281.33	1,388.97	1,702.83	8,809.78	1,640.33	1,558.11	12,008.22	Mifflin
286.75	274.50	308.35	370.85	2,267.42	594.39	875.30	3,737.11	Monroe
626.00	531.71	645.06	647.45	4,026.31	889.44	961.34	5,877.09	Montgomery
689.94	581.42	813.68	633.62	4,449.79	340.50	.....	4,790.29	Montour
435.90	2,639.43	3,643.00	3,575.55	11,480.45	3,605.29	4,030.92	19,116.66	Northampton
1,841.53	1,823.36	2,078.77	2,669.50	12,938.42	3,837.28	.....	16,775.70	Northumberland
194.80	186.90	192.70	199.76	1,333.34	361.56	511.97	2,206.87	Perry
75,787.18	73,176.30	72,658.01	72,094.36	753,907.23	72,153.73	71,075.65	897,136.61	Philadelphia
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Pike
709.63	647.41	570.07	595.92	5,122.23	513.53	615.23	6,250.99	Potter
1,192.06	1,733.19	2,024.40	2,531.26	14,080.75	7,031.89	10,425.41	31,538.05	Schuylkill
227.12	444.25	362.79	496.20	1,637.80	.....	.....	1,637.80	Snyder
1,818.71	1,904.77	1,993.66	.....	10,489.93	.....	.....	10,489.93	Somerset
243.81	263.62	273.89	248.15	1,390.54	247.00	236.74	1,874.28	Sullivan
592.53	580.19	644.62	690.12	4,508.59	1,393.95	1,843.48	7,746.02	Susquehanna
824.02	842.49	1,022.94	948.49	6,338.79	303.76	.....	6,642.55	Tioga
.....	.....	.....	572.80	572.80	.....	.....	572.80	Union
1,019.11	1,057.21	1,055.37	1,066.20	8,270.41	1,309.15	1,668.01	11,247.57	Venango
1,276.53	1,502.04	1,604.99	1,620.71	10,760.52	.....	.....	10,760.52	Warren
2,031.99	2,207.19	2,212.12	2,741.93	16,933.44	5,231.73	5,060.61	27,225.78	Washington
389.81	373.96	367.53	381.45	2,758.72	364.96	455.28	3,578.96	Wayne
3,231.57	4,610.56	6,225.06	7,580.85	25,156.28	8,214.63	8,710.01	42,080.92	Westmoreland
205.82	303.67	327.82	439.24	1,794.75	486.85	387.30	2,668.90	Wyoming
1,876.69	1,736.83	1,440.31	1,233.04	11,736.05	2,116.61	1,108.25	14,960.91	York
234,743.69	243,339.99	255,294.75	269,827.03	1,972,196.01	304,031.03	312,571.48	2,588,798.52	Total

Table A-9—Expenditures by County Emergency Relief Boards for Thrift

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Adams	No Expenditures Made	No Expenditures Made	No Expenditures Made	No Expenditures Made	No Expenditures Made	No Expenditures Made	.....	1,445.77
Allegheny							.....	6,762.03
Armstrong							.....	1,687.80
Beaver							.....	6,286.68
Bedford	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,884.75	.....
Berks	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,638.00
Blair	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bradford	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	801.00
Bucks	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Butler	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,634.14
Cambria	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cameron	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carbon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,364.05
Centre	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,219.75
Chester	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,287.84
Clarion	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Clearfield	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,380.00
Clinton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,913.50	219.75
Columbia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Crawford	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cumberland	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	813.48
Dauphin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,405.97
Delaware	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,896.75
Elk	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	810.00
Erie	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,345.00
Fayette	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,887.97
Forest	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Franklin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fulton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	299.88
Greene	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,970.98
Huntingdon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,732.00
Indiana	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,500.00
Jefferson	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,217.27
Juniata	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	703.40
Lackawanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lancaster	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,282.18
Lawrence	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lebanon	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lehigh	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,844.18
Luzerne	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lycoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,051.36
McKean	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,067.08
Mercer	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,707.44
Mifflin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,268.09
Monroe	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	420.72
Montgomery	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,183.20	3,595.49
Montour	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,002.83	139.00
Northampton	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,196.01
Northumberland	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,066.50
Perry	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	807.50
Philadelphia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	608.98
Pike	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Potter	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Schuylkill	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	400.91	1,892.10
Snyder	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	939.20
Somerset	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,625.50
Sullivan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Susquehanna	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,279.35	.....
Tioga	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Union	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,885.00	600.00
Venango	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,350.04
Warren	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,111.52	632.80
Washington	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wayne	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Westmoreland	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,115.63
Wyoming	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
York	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,233.38
Total	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,661.06	117,752.69

Gardens; by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total (12 Months)	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total	County
.....	.....	.....	.....	1,445.77	.....	.....	1,445.77	Adams
21,392.15	5,353.44	4,987.24	35.00	38,529.86	.....	.....	38,529.86	Allegheny
3,283.50	.....	102.65	.....	5,073.95	.....	.....	5,073.95	Armstrong
3,884.41	2,687.33	60.00	70.00	12,988.42	.....	.....	12,988.42	Beaver
.....	.....	.....	.....	1,884.75	.....	.....	1,884.75	Bedford
2,559.21	313.04	1,609.10	47.59	8,166.94	.....	.....	8,166.94	Berks
4,638.03	1,804.57	.....	.....	6,442.60	.....	.....	6,442.60	Blair
1,058.00	458.86	442.17	.....	2,760.03	.....	.....	2,760.03	Bradford
1,042.50	157.50	.....	.....	1,200.00	.....	.....	1,200.00	Bucks
2,109.50	234.00	46.50	.....	4,024.14	.....	.....	4,024.14	Butler
6,985.77	755.61	1,002.18	.....	8,743.56	.....	.....	8,743.56	Cambria
297.75	287.16	.....	.....	584.91	.....	.....	584.91	Cameron
564.60	596.00	205.60	.....	3,730.25	.....	.....	3,730.25	Carbon
.....	1,402.35	362.70	.....	3,984.80	.....	.....	3,984.80	Centre
1,996.47	365.59	.....	.....	3,649.90	.....	.....	3,649.90	Chester
1,711.32	.....	.....	.....	1,711.32	.....	.....	1,711.32	Clarion
8,073.49	3,613.55	4,153.90	190.50	19,411.44	.....	39.50	19,450.94	Clearfield
862.69	261.00	37.88	.....	3,294.82	.....	.....	3,294.82	Clinton
3,451.20	523.80	.....	.....	3,975.00	.....	.....	3,975.00	Columbia
.....	3,274.43	97.50	.....	3,371.93	.....	.....	3,371.93	Crawford
1,596.71	1,005.42	157.26	.....	3,572.87	.....	.....	3,572.87	Cumberland
1,388.97	48.11	104.67	.....	4,947.72	.....	16.00	4,963.72	Dauphin
969.95	486.22	28.75	.....	4,381.67	.....	.....	4,381.67	Delaware
1,240.22	1,223.04	413.43	.....	3,686.69	.....	.....	3,686.69	Elk
7,403.23	1,453.76	972.13	.....	12,174.12	.....	.....	12,174.12	Erie
13,137.07	15,616.86	1,899.71	.....	33,541.61	.....	.....	33,541.61	Fayette
345.00	30.18	.....	.....	375.18	.....	.....	375.18	Forest
3,442.62	.....	.....	.....	3,442.62	.....	.....	3,442.62	Franklin
.....	.....	.....	.....	299.88	.....	.....	299.88	Fulton
.....	997.17	25.87	.....	4,994.02	.....	.....	4,994.02	Greene
237.40	90.00	23.00	45.60	3,128.00	.....	3.85	3,131.85	Huntingdon
2,411.50	.....	.....	.....	9,911.50	.....	.....	9,911.50	Indiana
.....	1,290.00	741.15	.....	5,248.42	.....	.....	5,248.42	Jefferson
129.50	238.50	115.00	.....	1,186.40	.....	.....	1,186.40	Juniata
8,064.06	2,751.18	1,766.18	650.00	13,231.42	.....	.....	13,231.42	Lackawanna
686.22	170.38	.....	.....	2,138.78	.....	.....	2,138.78	Lancaster
.....	5,079.56	1,852.70	75.00	7,007.26	.....	.....	7,007.26	Lawrence
1,158.27	466.28	86.10	.....	1,710.65	.....	.....	1,710.65	Lebanon
1,926.65	1,804.00	1,077.30	.....	7,652.13	.....	.....	7,652.13	Lehigh
8,822.00	5,482.64	1,660.24	.....	15,964.88	.....	.....	15,964.88	Luzerne
2,764.10	1,908.63	.....	.....	6,724.09	.....	.....	6,724.09	Lycoming
227.62	86.10	.....	.....	3,380.80	.....	.....	3,380.80	McKean
1,570.51	998.50	1,240.48	.....	10,516.93	.....	.....	10,516.93	Mercer
931.92	125.50	125.52	.....	2,451.03	.....	.....	2,451.03	Mifflin
436.75	511.55	62.65	.....	1,431.67	.....	.....	1,431.67	Monroe
403.60	401.30	47.31	.....	5,630.90	.....	.....	5,630.90	Montgomery
96.00	61.45	.....	.....	1,299.28	.....	.....	1,299.28	Montour
166.95	1,740.10	142.82	.....	9,245.88	.....	.....	9,245.88	Northampton
1,716.10	181.54	375.46	.....	9,339.60	.....	.....	9,339.60	Northumberland
482.25	63.31	41.00	.....	1,394.06	.....	.....	1,394.06	Perry
4,173.61	1,900.02	187.58	40.00	6,910.19	.....	.....	6,910.19	Philadelphia
.....	24.13	.....	.....	24.13	.....	.....	24.13	Pike
.....	2,339.20	.....	.....	2,339.20	.....	.....	2,339.20	Potter
1,815.66	824.82	1,559.12	.....	6,492.61	.....	.....	6,492.61	Schuylkill
.....	.....	.....	.....	939.20	.....	.....	939.20	Snyder
2,297.20	1,723.63	295.58	.....	6,941.91	.....	.....	6,941.91	Somerset
547.24	.....	134.00	.....	681.24	.....	.....	681.24	Sullivan
.....	.....	.....	.....	3,279.35	.....	.....	3,279.35	Susquehanna
1,549.20	749.50	.....	.....	2,298.70	.....	.....	2,298.70	Tioga
.....	.....	.....	.....	2,485.00	.....	.....	2,485.00	Union
2,081.83	1,089.77	970.73	92.91	5,585.28	.....	.....	5,585.28	Venango
877.19	.....	.....	.....	4,621.51	.....	.....	4,621.51	Warren
.....	24,105.22	3,198.77	.....	27,303.99	.....	.....	27,303.99	Washington
.....	1,111.30	147.90	.....	1,259.20	.....	.....	1,259.20	Wayne
19,223.50	8,573.72	298.00	27.63	36,238.48	27.63	.....	36,266.11	Westmoreland
369.00	798.79	107.86	.....	1,275.65	.....	.....	1,275.65	Wyoming
1,662.98	1,148.46	.....	.....	4,044.82	.....	.....	4,044.82	York
160,263.17	110,788.07	32,965.69	1,274.23	437,704.91	27.63	59.35	437,791.89	Total

Table A-10—Expenditures by Department of Highways for Work Relief;

County	September 1932	October 1932	November 1932	December 1932	January 1933	February 1933	March 1933	April 1933
Adams	No Expenditures for Counties	No Expenditures for Counties	3,869.10	5,697.50	5,166.15	6,460.65	3,478.05	3,621.00
Allegheny			651.25	10,493.38	8,869.25	12,030.57	5,427.60	5,631.53
Armstrong			18,545.20	14,157.80	14,776.60	10,428.60	12,069.00	14,770.30
Beaver	.....	.....	1,287.00	3,600.35	3,496.20	3,799.40	3,064.00	2,326.60
Bedford	.....	.....	16,670.50	12,921.93	9,834.49	25,634.99	17,425.81	10,295.28
Berks	.....	.....	4,294.00	11,909.60	10,796.00	16,593.80	10,669.80	8,100.40
Blair	.....	.....	5,062.99	8,544.14	4,754.07	16,201.54	7,833.49	4,106.73
Bradford	.....	.....	11,637.05	24,470.51	18,728.92	29,714.86	17,150.73	24,505.86
Bucks	.....	.....	.....	8,779.54	14,486.07	14,207.10	11,730.40	19,867.20
Butler	.....	.....	7,614.46	14,753.61	13,048.60	13,293.20	12,552.40	9,576.60
Cambria	.....	.....	26,387.27	11,146.20	.....	16,874.80	12,603.60	6,698.80
Cameron	.....	.....	2,319.00	36.00	.....	2,918.60	104.40	.....
Carbon	.....	.....	5,764.79	5,117.98	.....	6,942.80	5,570.41	7,654.82
Centre	.....	.....	7,715.51	13,179.68	3.68	15,097.90	9,628.38	.....
Chester	.....	.....	948.40	6,396.70	9,026.40	12,825.60	8,239.60	5,761.20
Clarion	.....	.....	3,690.00	8,665.50	8,490.83	7,140.80	4,247.60	5,637.40
Clearfield	.....	.....	11,921.50	25,201.80	7,784.61	15,918.73	13,099.39	1,573.40
Clinton	.....	.....	7,604.80	5,164.14	2.10	6,772.18	9,554.11	.....
Columbia	.....	.....	1,084.05	8,718.40	7,254.75	12,442.71	12,969.12	9,326.38
Crawford	.....	.....	7,685.80	16,893.98	25.20	12,566.90	15,296.40	4,035.00
Cumberland	.....	.....	6,293.10	10,342.20	6,778.90	8,475.85	9,399.38	8,767.20
Dauphin	.....	.....	1,821.86	5,099.80	3,661.96	10,443.85	7,779.07	10,141.38
Delaware	.....	.....	401.80	1,897.00	2,633.80	4,887.00	4,552.80	7,347.38
Elk	.....	.....	1,853.40	10,914.40	498.00	7,344.60	6,212.20	42.40
Erie	.....	.....	5,328.53	10,106.83	18.00	4,489.20	10,119.53	3,415.20
Fayette	.....	.....	9,554.09	17,452.68	13,478.55	14,498.50	8,236.90	7,326.29
Forest	.....	.....	3,229.73	4,779.90	4.40	1,288.12	2,876.89	905.65
Franklin	.....	.....	1,203.90	1,963.05	2,940.75	5,640.25	4,738.05	3,804.75
Fulton	.....	.....	5,841.23	5,580.30	6,729.45	6,362.55	3,739.35	3,693.60
Greene	.....	.....	6,785.60	11,158.20	6.00	7,189.80	3,480.40	6,372.80
Huntingdon	.....	.....	11,808.17	27,309.97	4,625.40	19,926.51	15,872.33	9,269.28
Indiana	.....	.....	13,684.20	24,048.12	20,699.20	9,096.24	12,072.82	16,756.36
Jefferson	.....	.....	14,459.93	7,718.40	11,459.42	12,649.17	9,940.71	6,468.86
Juniata	.....	.....	4,418.67	6,394.46	5,437.85	11,007.67	5,484.02	3,526.51
Lackawanna	.....	.....	316.00	1,532.20	2,910.00	1,648.60	1,946.20	2,009.40
Lancaster	.....	.....	3,320.07	22,515.77	21,960.36	30,833.61	13,616.58	10,483.35
Lawrence	.....	.....	634.60	4,151.00	6,627.60	4,383.10	3,592.60	907.80
Lebanon	.....	.....	2,471.33	6,164.52	2,026.77	3,045.88	2,309.35	1,785.65
Lehigh	.....	.....	1,743.40	6,675.20	5,780.40	10,366.33	10,672.20	3,976.40
Luzerne	.....	.....	3,767.99	13,509.47	9,222.18	932.88	1,973.69	4,094.27
Lycoming	.....	.....	11,338.35	23,851.00	4,307.38	17,848.41	20,642.36	13,768.16
McKean	.....	.....	5,251.38	12,716.30	7.20	5,865.59	11,228.24	1,747.15
Mercer	.....	.....	9,824.40	12,650.60	57.40	4,784.20	8,277.20	2,440.80
Mifflin	.....	.....	2,675.19	5,610.09	3,773.14	4,922.15	4,336.34	4,125.17
Monroe	.....	.....	7,570.60	9,617.20	19.80	12,047.40	7,675.20	6,748.80
Montgomery	.....	.....	311.40	2,254.40	12,820.40	20,360.40	17,656.20	24,318.60
Montour	.....	.....	1,618.80	1,932.08	2,110.80	5,025.30	8,469.00	4,257.45
Northampton	.....	.....	1,847.33	9,536.47	5,947.59	11,668.40	6,533.00	5,076.10
Northumberland	.....	.....	396.35	2,744.10	5,875.35	17,396.45	15,029.72	12,238.50
Perry	.....	.....	6,741.92	9,044.86	7,309.26	9,095.40	7,634.06	6,703.61
Philadelphia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Pike	.....	.....	219.60	3,150.40	3,884.60	3,969.20	1,210.80	4,187.60
Potter	.....	.....	8,546.81	17,771.77	1,307.73	6,176.18	9,709.44	4,269.63
Schuylkill	.....	.....	11,824.68	16,685.35	17.20	9,166.60	6,113.80	10,772.20
Snyder	.....	.....	2,809.58	6,253.13	4,275.49	6,260.70	10,360.85	5,062.58
Somerset	.....	.....	27,977.89	42,251.38	13.30	10,908.72	1,238.10	7,385.03
Sullivan	.....	.....	682.32	3,955.49	3,583.36	6,188.45	7,393.64	5,369.29
Susquehanna	.....	.....	2,036.40	15,800.23	10,190.80	6,721.17	728.35	1,251.40
Tioga	.....	.....	4,844.50	13,541.31	15,143.20	20,161.69	20,953.31	22,670.12
Union	.....	.....	2,003.70	8,018.75	.....	8,278.77	10,542.65	2,489.30
Venango	.....	.....	9,591.82	15,029.80	2,686.00	4,037.40	5,475.40	2,052.80
Warren	.....	.....	2,900.73	15,449.60	9,960.20	10,197.60	11,568.80	.....
Washington	.....	.....	4,595.32	17,114.45	9,512.80	6,712.20	2,228.60	7,616.10
Wayne	.....	.....	14,492.12	28,101.74	100.80	3,602.23	3,945.75	3,122.83
Westmoreland	.....	.....	9,736.87	30,213.11	18,718.23	15,403.05	14,933.00	13,244.20
Wyoming	.....	.....	746.80	6,627.00	7,614.90	6,074.44	2,666.60	2,751.20
York	.....	.....	7,706.07	16,656.62	25,235.60	27,923.23	20,603.12	12,996.06
Total	.....	.....	401,981.20	761,739.44	418,515.44	693,170.77	568,482.89	441,247.71

by County, by Month—September, 1932, through October, 1933

May 1933	June 1933	July 1933	August 1933	Total	September 1933	October 1933	Grand Total	County
6,312.00	4,031.70	191.85	230.40	39,058.40	4,343.14	2,874.51	46,276.05	Adams
25,132.86	20,238.21	17,469.06	9,526.27	115,469.98	4,896.00	13,483.87	133,849.85	Allegheny
29,964.40	21,949.60	7,704.40	2,937.60	147,303.50	9,048.80	15,772.80	172,125.10	Armstrong
7,135.80	3,264.20	7,676.60	2,021.80	37,671.95	2,015.80	4,246.20	43,933.95	Beaver
13,508.10	11,227.15	3,921.75	4,258.05	125,698.05	12,467.15	15,904.14	154,069.34	Bedford
10,148.40	3,272.60	5,216.60	2,124.40	83,125.60	1,603.40	3,037.40	87,766.40	Berks
1,017.01	.....	.....	2,162.14	49,682.11	1,552.15	4,693.38	55,927.64	Blair
28,936.51	10,611.94	15,777.18	6,531.06	188,064.62	13,572.43	18,263.39	219,900.44	Bradford
27,348.50	14,734.77	232.60	96.60	111,482.78	9,695.37	7,242.45	128,420.60	Bucks
36,111.31	23,206.80	13,002.40	10,696.98	153,856.36	14,009.68	23,301.99	191,168.03	Butler
10,894.80	2,514.40	.....	5,358.95	92,478.82	12,537.87	11,738.14	116,754.83	Cambria
.....	.....	.....	572.80	5,950.80	166.80	1,674.00	7,791.60	Cameron
1,951.19	.....	.....	26.10	33,028.09	3,988.12	6,940.25	43,956.46	Carbon
98.85	.....	.....	2,353.36	48,077.36	7,330.56	11,595.81	67,003.73	Centre
32.00	.....	18,441.11	20,179.70	81,850.71	22,869.16	32,422.78	137,142.65	Chester
24,149.85	20,651.05	18,270.65	7,197.20	108,140.88	11,336.05	12,733.00	132,209.93	Clarion
8,206.70	9,483.70	5,844.40	2,216.40	101,250.63	12,967.70	17,175.78	131,394.11	Clearfield
.....	.....	.....	1,034.64	30,131.97	3,115.93	9,416.89	42,664.79	Clinton
15,004.98	12,399.95	7,798.18	361.13	87,359.65	10,509.78	13,234.84	111,104.27	Columbia
24,680.20	8,061.60	144.92	.....	89,390.00	13,452.35	14,329.40	117,171.75	Crawford
2,351.25	.....	.....	532.95	52,940.83	2,405.36	5,521.85	60,868.04	Cumberland
11,074.39	3,460.00	5,466.75	3,334.00	62,283.06	4,989.17	5,194.33	72,466.56	Dauphin
8,989.22	5,433.20	6,266.03	5,746.03	48,154.26	3,937.60	3,122.43	55,214.29	Delaware
.....	.....	.....	857.20	27,722.20	3,066.60	5,464.40	36,253.20	Elk
643.40	.....	.....	2,108.12	36,228.81	3,836.60	6,962.77	47,028.18	Erie
19,460.51	14,967.15	46.20	5,714.58	110,735.45	8,564.00	27,155.63	146,455.08	Fayette
4,095.25	.....	.....	1,081.20	18,261.14	1,518.79	4,535.00	24,314.93	Forest
7,850.40	4,119.75	4,083.75	4,728.75	41,073.40	4,578.28	3,331.24	48,982.92	Franklin
3,236.86	3,176.41	4,142.30	5,837.40	48,339.45	4,655.54	2,454.89	55,449.88	Fulton
13,220.80	19,836.40	9,954.60	4,658.87	82,663.47	9,458.40	15,413.60	107,535.47	Greene
7,846.05	.....	.....	1,626.15	98,283.86	6,921.78	11,114.35	116,319.99	Huntingdon
31,235.55	27,193.20	6,806.70	4,718.50	166,310.89	14,505.64	15,736.20	196,552.73	Indiana
14,005.50	10,854.95	5,643.62	5,143.72	98,344.28	15,061.66	11,346.41	124,752.35	Jefferson
3,059.18	991.74	3,895.23	2,552.63	46,767.96	3,943.36	3,995.84	54,707.16	Juniata
7,188.60	6,521.00	15,895.20	6,131.10	46,098.30	4,551.20	7,579.90	58,229.40	Lackawanna
18,716.81	8,450.67	15,709.52	19,567.72	165,174.46	20,795.18	24,815.48	210,785.12	Lancaster
12,424.80	5,818.35	1,453.20	3,540.70	43,533.75	2,113.60	5,314.30	50,961.65	Lawrence
6,710.34	2,040.54	8,671.98	5,979.43	41,205.79	2,161.22	1,266.76	44,633.77	Lebanon
6,275.00	2,224.20	2,446.40	1,314.40	51,473.93	2,581.80	2,044.60	56,100.33	Lehigh
10,848.96	11,464.89	20,871.00	20,077.63	96,762.96	8,463.03	20,153.24	125,379.23	Luzerne
12,166.10	1,578.15	.....	279.77	105,779.68	10,478.13	20,440.36	136,698.17	Lycoming
1,287.20	.94	.....	3.20	38,107.20	5,637.17	10,881.73	54,626.10	McKean
18,434.20	20.20	17.80*	46.80	56,518.00	12,742.73	19,288.25	88,548.98	Mercer
3,671.99	3,279.58	65.17	1,812.66	34,271.48	3,747.54	696.41	38,715.43	Mifflin
8,602.00	.....	.....	.....	52,281.00	6,845.60	15,019.60	74,146.20	Monroe
27,419.60	46.00	.....	253.80	105,440.80	11,298.60	12,958.80	129,698.20	Montgomery
658.65	27.90	.....	.....	24,099.98	1,399.95	2,987.47	28,487.40	Montour
11,340.47	1,455.60	3,265.00	5,390.43	62,060.39	7,204.49	6,838.80	76,103.68	Northampton
11,662.65	5,463.38	6,819.15	185.10	77,810.75	6,622.94	11,491.38	95,925.07	Northumberland
8,699.32	3,632.15	1,997.35	8,382.74	69,240.67	7,763.84	8,897.12	85,901.63	Perry
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Philadelphia
11,548.40	5,096.00	10,167.55	265.60	43,699.75	4,173.20	8,932.63	56,805.58	Pike
11,995.21	.....	.20	42.80	59,819.77	8,966.26	14,667.69	83,453.72	Potter
20,621.98	1,869.81	4,330.20	2,832.00	84,233.82	10,245.55	16,529.60	111,008.97	Schuylkill
12,865.68	3,107.70	.....	.....	50,995.71	5,811.83	7,171.62	63,979.16	Snyder
22,771.93	22,920.15	31,315.11	25,149.22	191,930.83	9,148.98	14,132.83	215,212.64	Somerset
5,827.22	.23	.....	.....	33,000.00	4,611.14	5,859.35	43,470.49	Sullivan
10,435.40	14,031.95	18,717.00	25,252.14	105,164.84	22,268.54	16,266.81	143,700.19	Susquehanna
13,682.08	2.85	20.70*	8.55	110,986.91	15,911.31	26,671.32	153,569.54	Tioga
4,936.42	1,730.40	.....	.....	37,999.99	.....	4,693.67	42,693.66	Union
18,582.60	431.18	.....	.....	57,887.00	7,069.75	19,253.20	84,209.95	Venango
30.00	.....	.....	12.00	50,118.93	6,881.40	7,109.20	64,109.53	Warren
25,472.35	19,679.98	8,029.20	16,926.38	117,887.38	11,437.93	17,508.50	146,833.81	Washington
13,716.87	12,451.85	17,084.13	11,140.00	107,758.32	11,681.04	17,377.64	136,817.00	Wayne
34,804.67	27,299.40	6,778.96	11,948.11	183,079.60	10,156.40	16,278.00	209,514.00	Westmoreland
6,035.20	3,997.20	3,482.75	6,841.19	46,837.28	9,424.85	12,763.69	69,025.82	Wyoming
26,614.45	7,573.17	32.56	14,412.75	159,753.63	38,982.91	19,700.70	218,437.24	York
803,748.97	427,895.89	345,090.01	316,321.90	5,178,194.22	550,099.13	757,020.61	6,485,313.96	Total

*Credit

Table A-11—The Thrift Garden Harvest—1933

County	Number of Families Planting Gardens	Number of Gardens Harvested	Expenditures (dollars)	Average Cost per Garden (dollars)	Average Yield per Garden (retail) (dollars)	Retail Value of Total Garden yield (dollars)
Adams	1,550	1,500	1,445.77	.932	20.00	30,000.00
Allegheny	42,476	41,823	37,553.10	.884	30.00	1,254,690.00
Armstrong	6,000	5,800	5,073.95	.845	27.00	156,600.00
Beaver	16,737	16,737	12,988.42	.776	30.84	516,169.08
Bedford	1,900	*	1,884.75	.991	*	*
Berks	6,548	6,505	8,166.94	1.247	18.10	117,740.50
Blair	6,974	6,320	6,442.60	.923	16.80	106,176.00
Bradford	1,813	1,766	2,791.75	1.539	15.00	26,490.00
Bucks	2,000	1,600	1,227.75	.613	12.00	19,200.00
Butler	3,400	3,360	4,070.66	1.197	*	*
Cambria	9,143	9,143	8,854.62	.968	18.00	164,574.00
Cameron	270	250	584.91	2.160	19.45	4,862.50
Carbon	2,100	2,000	3,730.25	1.776	7.00	14,000.00
Centre	3,325	3,192	4,149.70	1.248	35.00	111,720.00
Chester	2,847	2,822	3,649.90	1.282	30.00	84,660.00
Clarion	1,290	1,256	1,711.32	1.326	*	*
Clearfield	9,450	9,450	19,387.94	2.051	30.00	283,500.00
Clinton	1,673	1,590	3,294.82	1.969	15.00	23,350.00
Columbia	3,000	3,000	3,975.00	1.325	10.00	30,000.00
Crawford	2,542	2,542	3,371.93	1.326	10.00	25,420.00
Cumberland	2,039	1,995	3,572.87	1.752	24.86	49,595.70
Dauphin	7,606	7,530	4,963.72	.652	16.00	120,480.00
Delaware	4,300	4,200	4,381.67	1.018	50.00	210,000.00
Elk	2,409	2,394	3,686.69	1.530	27.00	64,638.00
Erie	5,194	5,194	12,285.25	2.365	19.00	98,686.00
Fayette	19,467	19,208	28,239.68	1.450	24.79	476,166.32
Forest*	150		375.18	2.500		
Franklin	3,000	3,000	3,442.62	1.147	*	*
Fulton	526	526	299.88	.570	*	*
Greene	3,000	3,000	4,994.02	1.664	7.20	21,600.00
Huntingdon	1,500	1,475	3,131.85	2.087	30.00	44,250.00
Indiana	4,250	4,243	9,796.50	2.305	15.00	63,750.00
Jefferson	4,073	3,670	5,248.42	1.280	28.00	102,760.00
Juniata	700	615	1,186.40	1.694	25.00	15,375.00
Lackawanna	10,401	10,300	13,159.75	1.265	15.00	154,500.00
Lancaster	1,742	1,742	2,138.78	1.227	37.50	65,325.00
Lawrence	5,400	5,130	7,000.91	1.296	8.03	41,193.90
Lebanon	1,236	1,236	1,710.65	1.384	20.00	24,720.00
Lehigh	7,643	7,643	7,473.93	.977	32.90	304,955.70
Luzerne	11,166	10,916	15,964.88	1.429	25.85	282,178.60
Lycoming	7,600	7,400	6,607.96	.869	100.00	740,000.00
McKean	1,800	1,738	3,380.80	1.878	26.40	45,883.20
Mercer	6,051	5,964	10,743.45	1.775	15.20	90,652.80
Mifflin	2,232	2,154	2,451.03	1.098	18.00	38,772.00
Monroe	590	488	1,427.71	2.419	46.00	22,448.00
Montgomery	6,017	5,792	5,536.28	.920	20.00	115,840.00
Montour*	606		1,299.28	2.144		
Northampton	6,200	6,000	9,245.88	1.491	35.00	210,000.00
Northumberland	5,912	5,912	9,339.60	1,579	75.00	443,400.00
Perry	983	973	1,394.06	1.418	24.69	24,023.37
Philadelphia	4,481	4,428	6,910.19	1.542	35.00	154,980.00
Pike*	20		24.13	1.206		
Potter*	2,000		2,339.20	1.169		
Schuylkill	7,968	7,968	6,492.61	.814	15.50	123,504.00
Snyder	1,200	1,200	939.20	.782	12.50	15,000.00
Somerset	3,940	3,914	6,941.91	1.761	16.00	62,624.00
Sullivan*	508		681.24	1.341		
Susquehanna	2,200	2,200	3,280.85	1.491	15.00	33,000.00
Tioga	1,700	1,675	2,298.70	1.352	*	*
Union*	993		2,484.95	2.500		
Venango	3,980	3,980	5,585.28	1.403	5.00	19,900.00
Warren	2,030	1,910	4,621.51	2.276	45.00	85,950.00
Washington*	19,224		23,373.99	1.215		
Wayne	562	560	1,260.80	2.243	25.00	14,000.00
Westmoreland	26,000	25,870	36,255.48	1.394	40.00	1,034,800.00
Wyoming	900		1,275.65	1.417		
York	3,993	3,973	5,250.56	1.314	20.00	79,460.00
Total	340,530	308,772	428,822.03	1.259	24.85	8,463,563.67

* Reports from these Counties have not yet been received or are incomplete.

Table A-12—Schedule of Shipments of Shoes to Counties from December 15, 1932, to August 31, 1933

Counties	Pairs	Counties	Pairs
Adams	432	Juniata	399
Allegheny	80,847	Lackawanna	33,378
Armstrong	4,985	Lancaster	8,956
Beaver	15,333	Lawrence	3,692
Bedford	2,083	Lebanon	2,038
Berks	11,427	Lehigh	11,523
Blair	8,672	Luzerne	38,672
Bradford	2,374	Lycoming	3,980
Bucks	2,863	McKean	3,390
Butler	4,342	Mercer	10,652
Cambria	5,182	Mifflin	2,946
Cameron	131	Monroe	656
Carbon	4,717	Montgomery	7,176
Centre	4,248	Montour	1,113
Chester	2,820	Northampton	10,755
Clarion	445	Northumberland	15,574
Clearfield	16,085	Perry	1,181
Clinton	1,548	Philadelphia	77,421
Columbia	1,158	Potter	1,167
Crawford	1,191	Schuylkill	17,998
Cumberland	2,579	Snyder	414
Dauphin	13,523	Somerset	5,256
Delaware	10,112	Sullivan	273
Elk	1,482	Susquehanna	4,713
Erie	9,347	Tioga	1,737
Fayette	32,092	Union	828
Forest	194	Venango	5,185
Franklin	2,872	Warren	3,942
Fulton	206	Washington	10,286
Greene	2,025	Westmoreland	43,031
Huntingdon	2,375	York	11,013
Indiana	12,254		
Jefferson	3,069	Total	602,358

Table A-13—Luzerne County, 1933, Thrift Garden Harvest (Approximate)

		Average Garden Yield	1,893 Community Garden Totals	9,077 Home Garden Totals	Total Yield
Beans	Pecks	6	11,034	54,462	65,496
Beets	Bunches	9	172,866	853,338	1,025,204
Cabbages	Heads	42	77,238	381,234	458,472
Corn	Ears	185	340,215	1,679,245	2,019,460
Carrots	Bunches	8	34,941	535,543	560,484
Lettuce	Heads	7	12,873	63,559	76,432
Mangoes	Number	58	106,662	526,466	633,128
Parsnips	Number	18	33,102	163,386	196,488
Peas	Quarts	6	11,034	54,462	65,496
Onions	Pecks	1	1,840	9,075	10,915
Radishes	Bunches	11	20,229	99,847	120,076
Swiss Chard	Heads	8	14,712	72,602	87,314
Spinach	Heads	2	3,678	18,154	21,832
Squash	Number	5	9,195	45,385	54,580
Tomatoes	Bushels	4½	8,276	40,847	49,123
Potatoes	Bushels	1½	2,758	13,616	16,374
Pumpkins	Number	1	1,840	9,075	10,915
Turnips	Bushels	½	920	4,540	5,460
Cucumbers	Number	16	29,424	145,232	174,656
Egg Plant	Number	2	3,678	18,154	21,832

Average earnings of each garden based on average of chain store and produce market price is $25.85.

Appendix II

The Place of Work in Unemployment Relief

A REPORT TO THE PENNSYLVANIA EMERGENCY RELIEF BOARD

by

Roger F. Evans

Summer 1933

(Printed in the light of the Federal Civil Works Program: November, 1933)

FOREWORD

The Civil Works Program launched by the President on November 7, 1933, is based on many of the same principles and should effect on a nation-wide scale many of the immediate changes recommended in this report*, which have already been incorporated in Pennsylvania policy.

The program, for example, leaves to the existing relief system the problem of direct relief, to be handled as sympathetically, professionally, and economically as possible. It abolishes discredited and subversive work relief, heretofore conducted with inadequate relief funds on a basis that only aggravated the problem; and meets the problem of unemployment head-on as one of real employment on civil works of permanent economic and social value, financed with public works funds. The first workers, out of many necessities, are to be recruited directly from the relief rolls, but as of a retroactive date, thus leaving no incentive or necessity to go on to relief to get work. It provides that the tests of qualifications and efficiency shall govern the selection of the rest and the continued employment of all. It acknowledges Government responsibility for proper workmen's compensation and public liability coverage where a government is the employer. It rules ineligible any project the beneficiary locality can finance. By channeling all applications through the improved and expanded Federal-State Employment and Re-employment Services, it recognizes that service to be an essential machinery in any major attack on unemployment. The whole undertaking re-emphasizes the need for both long-range fiscal and physical planning by the States and their political sub-divisions. A separate allocation from public works funds, to subsistence homestead work, aims to restore to a self-supporting basis large groups of displaced workers. In these ways the program marks a clean break from the past and its artificial treadmill of work relief in favor of the more constructive and self-sustaining measures advocated in this report.

Despite such changes, however, the practical necessity of conducting the Civil Works Program on a nation-wide scale, mainly with Federal funds, with speed, and under an emergency organization, exposes it to the very grave danger of nullification and defeat unless these Federal Funds are used only for projects of permanent economic and social value for which no other funds are available, and unless those projects are recruited and conducted through-

* See pp. 93 and 94.

out on the basis of qualifications and efficiency. Entirely apart from the inflationary factor involved, indeed, it is safe to say that the program will succeed only to the extent that substitution and inefficiency are avoided, and sound realistic standards are observed. The challenge to every community is for resourcefulness and a willingness to play fair.

This report is therefore made available to a wider public for any support it may give to that constructive program, in its critical formative stage.

THE PLACE OF WORK IN UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF

Origin and Purpose of the Inquiry

The origin and purpose of this survey and report are set forth in the letter of the State Emergency Relief Board[1] requesting the services of the writer, as follows:

> "It is generally agreed that the need of public relief, which arises from the long period of unemployment, will be a problem of major proportions for some time to come. It appears to be important that every possible means be utilized for developing a plan of work relief on a State-wide basis, in order that relief may, as far as possible, be given on the basis of work performed.
>
> "As the first step, it seems advisable to study conditions surrounding work relief programs now being carried on in Pennsylvania and neighboring states which, for the most part, are being conducted without intelligent plan or direction, in order to measure the social and economic implications thereof.
>
> "The proposed public works program, in whatever form it may take, must be considered as an element of any future development of work relief and such a study would, of course, take this matter into account. Nor can work relief properly be considered as a problem which is isolated from direct relief—and at the present time it is being so treated in most instances."

[1] Eric H. Biddle to Morris E. Leeds, May 27, 1933.

This has been construed as a request for:

1. A survey of the practices and possibilities of work relief and public works in Pennsylvania, and
2. Recommendations as to how they might be integrated with direct relief so that unemployment relief might as far as practicable be given in the form of work, and thereby made more value-creating to both the recipient and the community.

Work Relief Defined

So many different things have been done in the name of work relief, it is difficult to be precise. For our present purposes, however, the term has probably been sufficiently defined as a method of alleviating distress due to unemployment through:

1. Useful work projects for which men are
2. selected primarily on the basis of *need* (not *efficiency*)
3. their wages being paid partly or entirely in kind
4. from relief funds contributed or appropriated for the purpose
5. the performance of that work being more or less a condition of the granting of that relief.

It will be noted that work-relief differs from direct relief, odd-job campaigns, street-selling, most man-a-block campaigns, staggered employment and public works, in one or more of the respects named. It should be added that work financed by public funds may generally be done only on public property.

The Investigators Background

In view of the conclusions reached, it may be in order to state here the background of the writer. For fifteen years he was in business, on the management side. As Executive Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Unemployment of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce late in 1930, he reconnoitered the unemployment situation in several cities, handled the Phila-

delphia made-work program which gave work and wages that winter to some 15,000 of the city's neediest unemployed,[2] and since then has been quite constantly working at various phases of the unemployment problem in not only their local but in their state and national aspects. In brief, though committed to an open mind, he belongs to that large group which instinctively believes "work is better."

An Old, Perplexing Problem

Any informed person nevertheless knows that the history of work relief, made-work, relief works, work for relief—or whatever we call these efforts to make public unemployment relief more value-creating by making it more or less conditional upon work done—is a history of mixed motives, confusion, compromise, and vacillating policy. Many countries repeatedly have launched such relief works with confidence, only to circle back and abandon them. The bafflement or skepticism of thoughtful people connected with similar programs in this country is especially disconcerting. The writer can say frankly that the questions raised by his own experience with the Philadelphia program were perhaps his main reasons for undertaking this otherwise unwelcome assignment. And as a practical matter we are under stern pressure to find a workable if not an ideal solution.

Scope of the Inquiry

Since the problem of making public work relief sound and successful has seemingly arisen wherever and whenever it has been attempted, the scope of the study was immediately broadened to throw it into perspective. With due regard for conditioning influences, the inquiry accordingly has led through carefully selected references on the experience of the last three depressions. Coming closer home, it included visits to New York, New Jersey and Baltimore, and a number of conferences with the Pennsylvania county relief executives and field representatives convened from all over the State. It involved weeks of travel[3] inspecting projects and interviewing parties concerned, literally hundreds of each, in nineteen[4] (of Pennsylvania's 67) counties, which represent some 61% of the State's population, 65% of her estimated unemployment, and were carefully chosen to include not only metropolitan, suburban and rural areas, but manufacturing, railroad, bituminous and anthracite centers, farming sections, combinations thereof and special problems.

The Status Quo

With full realization that no fair picture of their great efforts can be put in a sentence or two, brief reference is first made to the programs of New Jersey, New York and the City of Baltimore, solely in order to include as background what the writer regards as the most characteristic and relevant experience of nearby states.

New Jersey operates on the "Work for Relief in Kind" basis.[5] Scattered bright spots attributable to imaginative leadership or exceptional local cooperation, and the resourcefulness and courage of the administration, however, alone relieve what impressed the observer as an out-dated policy which admittedly was functioning very unevenly, and in certain large and important areas, not at all.[6]

New York since 1931, under a strong and highly independent Relief Administration, backed by effective laws and relatively generous financing, has aided both local home and work relief on the reimbursement principle.[7] Home relief in kind, and work relief in cash at prevailing wage rates, are both theoretically limited by the amount of budgetary deficiency. In practice, comparable families at the time of this inquiry were receiving $22-$25 a month on home

[2] See chapter on Philadelphia program in "Emergency Work Relief", Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1932.

[3] In June and July, 1933.

[4] Allegheny, Armstrong, Berks, Blair, Cambria, Centre, Clearfield, Dauphin, Erie, Greene, Huntingdon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Mercer, Montgomery, Philadelphia, Schuylkill, Somerset, and Venango counties.

[5] If an able bodied man declines to work off at going rates relief he has already received in the form of food, milk, fuel, shelter or clothing, any further relief he may need must either be obtained from his local Overseer of the Poor, or he may receive his food order as in the past but stamped in large letters "POOR ORDER".

[6] It is perhaps significant that this system gave way in August to that of a 5¢ an hour cash bonus to workers similar to that used in Reading, Pennsylvania, but note the effects of such a "cash hypodermic". (P. 90).

[7] See: Rules Governing Home Relief and Work Relief, New York Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, 124 E. 28th Street, New York City, June 1, 1932.

relief as against $45-$48 on work relief, but the natural demand for this work and tightening finances were tending sharply to reduce this differential. Simultaneously, the tendency of local tax sources to dry up has seen a rise in State participation to an average of over 60% (against the statutory 40%), the figure in some cases rising to 98% and falling short of complete subsidy only by such amount as the subdivision might be spending on almost any routine maintenance work. In some communities Federal and State Funds were even being used for ash removal and garbage disposal.

The strength and efficiency of the system under terrific conditions nonetheless merit warm tribute. The problems which admittedly are inherent in it and which therefore are of particular relevance to this report are (1) the fact that New York State work relief from the start has in effect largely been a matter of State aid of normal and expanded local maintenance and public works on a generous work relief basis, (2) the expensive tendency of the premium to draw people on relief in order to get work and (3) the possibility that much of this work may qualify better as public works than as work relief under the new Federal Regulations.[8]

Baltimore, also relatively fortunate as to unemployment load, funds, leadership and municipal cooperation, was operating at the time of the inquiry on a compulsory "work for relief in cash" basis with some 70% of their cases working from 1 to 5 days a week at 30 cents an hour, mainly on a good variety of park, golf course and public housecleaning work. On the other hand, the fact that the working clients of the four participating agencies constituted respectively about 8, 15, 50, and 85% of their respective loads posed an internal problem in equity and control. As in most such mass programs, the problem of providing a suitable variety of work for skilled and "White-collar" workers had not been solved.

But the system after a fashion was working and would warp without serious modification (except for some public works projects and lack of compensation insurance) into the Federal regulations. Indeed, Baltimore's example prompted a very serious exploration of the possibilities of "work for relief in cash" but the problem in Pennsylvania has been to find one community with Baltimore's favorable factors, to say nothing of the fact that our mandate is to devise one simple work relief policy, flexible and workable enough for the State as a whole. The outstanding hurdle, of course, is the shortage of funds,[9] for, carried to its logical conclusion, the Baltimore system means providing eligible public work for everyone who wants it.

PENNSYLVANIA

The Private Fund Stage

Pennsylvania's work relief problem has been accentuated by straitened finances and the absence from the start of either an explicit work relief policy or an organization for developing one. If one may generalize from the nineteen counties visited, therefore, that experience is not hard to summarize. Ambitious made-work programs financed by private funds sprang up in the winter of 1930-31 in many communities, those in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh[10] being naturally the largest and most complete. When private giving shortly became inadequate for direct relief, however, such efforts expired and, except for a few laudable and persevering programs like those for Philadelphia engineers and business women[11] they have virtually been abandoned.

County Poor Boards and the Talbot Acts

Nor did the inquiry reveal that the existing Poor Boards or the earlier State Appropriation acts for relief gave any real or encouraging basis for constructive work relief. It is in that period that we find the practice of permitting respectable citizens, wanting only work, to se-

[8] See: Rules and Regulations No. 3, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Washington, D. C., July 11, 1933.

[9] From many angles the question arises as to the financial capacity of the State's political subdivisions to do their full share in any work program. Those facts were not available for this report but are fundamental to any conclusive answer on local participation.

[10] "Emergency Work Relief", Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1932.

[11] See: First Annual Report, 1932-33, Philadelphia Technical Service Committee, 1317 Spruce Street, Philadelphia; and Statement of Service Committee for Professional and Business Women, 1316 Arch Street, Philadelphia, September 9, 1933.

cure work relief only by virtually acknowledging themselves to be paupers, thereby becoming wards of the county, working as such at dull made jobs around the county poorhouse, and receiving in return their meagre allowance as a voluntary beneficience of the County to its wards, and specifically not as wages or in consideration of any services rendered (a device intended to avoid liability to workmen's compensation). This in Pennsylvania in 1932!

Nor can much be said for the qualifications of the old County Poor Board "system" for administering even basic relief. The record is of course relieved by the conscientious work of individuals but, to speak charitably, that system was erected and addressed to the handling of an indigent problem of an entirely different character and magnitude, and in philosophy, jurisdiction, organization, personnel and methods has demonstrated its inadequacy for dealing with the unemployment problem which now will be with us until it is met squarely and solved.

The State Emergency Relief Board and Direct Relief

In response to the need for more comprehensive administration, the present Act (Act 51), and its supporting appropriations Act (Act 52), became effective in September, 1932, acknowledging the basic problem and providing for an independent, responsible State-wide machinery for handling more professionally, uniformly and effectively the great problem of unemployment relief throughout Pennsylvania. The progress and improvement made in the intervening year, and under load, bears eloquent testimony to the ability and strength of its local promoters, from the State Board and its Executive to its hard-working field organization and cooperating agencies. Through reinvestigation the total relief load has been remarkedly reduced notwithstanding the extension of relief to many deserving needy from whom it had previously been withheld—a direct inversion of relief. So soon, despite the late start, despite the far-flung and divergent problems of the State, and despite the heaviest case load in the country, Pennsylvania's system of unemployment relief, with Philadelphia setting the pace, is a model of organization. Plainly, we cannot turn back. Rather we need increasingly to develop a public understanding of conditions as they are, and thereby a public insistence that they be handled with increasing adequacy, sympathy, efficiency and integrity.

The State Emergency Relief Board and Work Relief

It will be generally agreed that the first responsibility of such a relief organization is to provide to all—and only—eligible applicants the minimum essentials of life and health. At least as soon as available funds are adequate to assure those vital necessities as well as the extra cost of administering work, there are many who hold that then the distribution of at least part of those funds in the form of work will serve desirably:

1. to maintain habits of industry and avoid the deterioration which accompanies prolonged idleness
2. to preserve morale, and
3. to reduce the cost to the community by returning substantial benefits that only work can create.

Consideration is given later to the extent to which "work relief" has actually achieved these ends.

The immediate point to be made here is that during its first year the State Emergency Relief Board has concentrated mainly on the primary problem of basic relief, and of developing an organization and procedures for administering it fairly and efficiently. The Board early went on record in favor of work but outside of a few general principles and regulations it developed no complete policy or means for enforcing it. This was especially true of what came to be the critical issue of "no work-no relief." The rule read: "No relief shall be given to any person who has been offered work that he or she can do but has refused to work." When enforcement seemed likely to be difficult, many localities merely took the alternative of avoiding the issue by not offering work.

The not unnatural result is that the actual

prosecution of work relief, as between different counties and even as between adjoining localities within counties, has been very uneven and varied both in character and amount. Here again, too brief a summary may be unfair to a few exceptional localities. The picture presented by the very representative areas visited, however, does indicate that probably all State work relief done with public funds will fall into one of four rough classifications:

1. The bulk of recent Pennsylvania experience in this field is represented by rural programs of maintenance and reconstruction of township roads that incidentally are destined very largely to be transferred to State jurisdiction next year. Regardless, in motives, uniformity and results, those programs have ranged from extremely poor to what, within the serious limitations imposed by the State regulations or inherent in work relief itself, must be called good. Many were the counties visited where occasional hidden leaders, in the disguise of township supervisors or merely interested citizens, were working veritable miracles in conservation, if not in rehabilitation and material accomplishment, despite the leaden handicap of payment solely in food orders, prosaic dead-end jobs, and conflicting incentives. But in terms of an average, flexibly adaptable to State-wide use, it must in all candor be said, against the writer's initial prejudices and inclinations, that the result was discouraging and brightened only by exceptions that strongly suggested they would have succeeded as well or better had they not been conditioned on, or mixed up with, relief.

2. Centre and Huntingdon Counties, but outstandingly above all others, the towns of Grove City and Greenville in Mercer County, were examples of a second group that demonstrated conclusively that, given imaginative social leadership—and right relations, a spirit of cooperation, and community organization which all in turn flow from such leadership—any community holds within itself the potential ability to convert disaster into a blessing, and come through the experience with material and social gains for every participant. The writer prefers to leave to spokesmen from Greenville and Grove City the privilege of telling their own story. He would only point out the highly nominal relationship both programs had to formal State relief as such, a fact strongly suggesting the very questionable wisdom, where real leadership and right conditions prevail, of diluting higher incentives with lesser ones. Until we all have exhausted our possibilities of real community centers, have lined our sunblistered highways with shade trees and made every school a place of beauty and inspiration for youth, for example, who shall say that we lack truly eligible projects.

3. Almost by itself, Luzerne County constitutes a third type by virtue of (1) the premium paid for work in the form of more regular and generally larger food orders to be "worked off" at a flat 50 cents an hour rate, which substantially exceeded the then prevailing rate for common labor in much of that district, (2) its registrations for voluntary work on the foregoing basis —a procedure which anticipated any issue under the State Board's ruling, since by it work was offered to no one who had not already signified his willingness to accept it, and (3) the extensive variety and amount of local public works thus undertaken or anticipated under stimulus of this virtual State and Federal subsidy.

The cogency of this ingenious set-up may be seen in its spread despite the resistance or opposition of whole towns and organized labor. Labor paid in food orders was, to be sure, furnished only under agreements jointly entered into by the local government and the County Relief Board covering projects acceptable to the State Board. The locality furnished only material, equipment, supervision and workmen's compensation insurance (whereas the New York act also required the locality to pay 60% of the labor bill, and in cash). Yet, despite the slight premium, it was sufficient in that hard-hit anthracite region to draw large additional numbers on to relief, performing work that either was not normally economic or was ultimately competitive and, in spite of the sub-normal efficiency that characterizes such set-ups, to benefit the locality at State or Federal

expense. Thus a well-intended, ably-managed and apparently constructive program concealed fundamental weaknesses. It is enough here to say that the State Board saw through the latter and indefinitely withheld its relief funds from that program.

4. Finally, there are a few localities best exemplified perhaps by Berks and Montgomery Counties where a cash premium, provided by the locality for those who worked, was paid to help give the program reality and thus to make it more self-sustaining. In Montgomery, instead of spending a reserve of County funds in full cash wages on a normally smaller number of road workers recruited on the basis of ability, Commissioners and Relief Board in cooperation arranged to spread that work over four times as many men at a time, and even more by rotation, recruited on a joint need-and-ability basis. The cash was used as a premium over the food order. Laudable as the motive was, the inevitable tendency as in Luzerne and New York, was to draw people on to relief instead of away from it. In Berks, similarly, the cash premium was limited to only 5 cents an hour for thirty hours a week, yet it proved so alluring that men begged to be permitted up to 60 or 70 hours a week just to get that little extra cash.

The Cash Hypodermic

This is perhaps the place to state that the immediate effects of this cash hypodermic encouraged a painstaking exploration of the possibilities of favoring and encouraging work relief by awarding it at a higher rate or total, and part, or all of it, in cash, but including in any case a local cash contribution to heighten the local sense of responsibility. But that exploration only led to the conclusion that as long as the work was financed with relief funds and was recruited primarily on the basis of need, it only tended (as in Luzerne and New York) to draw more unfortunates, and more and more local, State and Federal funds into a morass characterized by lower efficiency, monotonous or ill-fitting work, unfair competition with real work and wages, directly or through anticipation of projects, and by the deleterious effect on workers of trudging for extended periods the treadmill of work relief. It is the more serious, for the use of cash seems somehow to be regarded as a substitute for the leadership which alone might redeem it.

It was on this appealing point of cash premium, incidentally, that the writer's inherent inclination for work relief began to yield. That disillusionment was completed by consideration raised by two factors that cut straight across the whole problem—namely, workmen's compensation insurance and the recruiting of highway labor primarily on the basis of need.

Workmen's Compensation Insurance

Pennsylvania law requires this risk to be covered and, with such exceptions as one might expect in such a wide flung, mushroomed problem, it is evident that the law was generally observed as long as normal rates applied. Without going here into the elusive reasons for the change, it is perhaps enough to record that in April, 1933, the State Rating Board not only stepped the rate on work relief projects sharply up to $1 per man per week or fraction thereof, but made that rate retroactive to January 1st. A very few communities saw their way clear to continue and only a few did. The great majority, excepting those who were willing to face the risk of self-insurance or evasion, shut down their projects and work relief over Pennsylvania came to a virtual standstill. To relieve that situation, Act No. 328, was pressed through the Legislature providing for the creation of a special "State Work-Relief Compensation Fund" essentially on a cost basis estimated at 25 cents per man per week or fraction thereof, but at the loss to the worker of compensation (except in the case of certain permanent injuries and for medical and hospital bills) for the first 26 weeks' disability resulting from an otherwise compensable injury. As this act had just been passed, and only scattered communities were resuming their work programs under its protection at the time of this inquiry, no fair judgment can be ventured as to how successful the act will prove.

The situation does, however, raise at least three deep running and relevant questions:

1. Why should work relief be charged an excess rate for Workmen's Compensation coverage?

2. What is wrong when a community being furnished free labor cannot afford to pay even 25 cents per man per week for the use of it?[12]

3. What can be said for a work relief system that has led its most ardent advocates in those counties with the most extensive programs (Group 1) repeatedly to express grave doubts as to whether, once stopped and the immediate habit of work once broken or dulled by the acceptance of home relief, those programs could in any significant measure be revived on the old basis of work for relief?

The simple statement may be apropos here that in the large Philadelphia program of 1930-31 the actual compensation and public liability costs and claims totalled hardly 55% of premium costs levied at the then current average book rates for such work of only $1.41 per $100 of payroll.[13]

That said, it may be quite as helpful and educational to let the reader develop the damaging answers to these three questions for himself.

State Highway Work

Across this kaleidoscopic picture cuts the very important factor of highway work with its large volume of common labor supposedly recruited from relief lists except for Federal-aid projects that must be manned primarily on the basis of ability, and subject to veterans' priority. The word "supposedly" is used with care and not invidiously. Instructions from Harrisburg to district supervisors make clear that even as this well-organized service has been deliberately expanded by the present State Administration to provide widely-distributed simple work relief, it is intended that district supervisors in recruiting their common labor force, will cooperate with their corresponding County Relief Boards to the end that such labor be recruited from relief lists. In actual practice the manner of recruiting, hours and rotation of workers have varied widely even on similar work. Selecting counties quite at random, Allegheny reguires every common laborer on highway work (even veterans, nominally) to carry an identification slip issued by the relief authorities or be laid off. Around Altoona in Blair County, a substantial part if not all such placement is made through the State Employment Office on the basis of ability and only cleared afterward with relief lists. And in Cambria, for one, there is ample evidence that a large proportion of such workers have been employed without regard to either service.

As one would expect, such different methods produce different effects. Under Greenville's well-coordinated, highly cooperative system, for example, available work has been shared very equally in one-week shifts with all employables on relief; the arrangement has provided needy unemployed in many cases with the only cash they have had, and superior leadership and relations have additionally produced a very satisfactory return to both the State and community. Elsewhere, one finds this highway work variously regarded as real and permanent work available to all and not infrequently given to taxpayers and those able to exert most pressure locally; spread so thin as to yield poor efficiency; or for one reason or another so concentrated on a few fortunate individuals that its purpose is largely defeated and bad feelings engendered.

Again, there is no intention here of being invidious; keen appreciation rather must be had for the magnitude of the problem and the influences that beset and condition it not only from without but also from within. These observations are set down only that, by facing the facts, we may perhaps better gear into the whole relief and economic picture this powerful factor of State highway work.

Special Problems

No Pennsylvania summary of this sort would be at all complete without due mention of the special unemployment problems which antedate this emergency and which are likely to run far beyond it unless specially dealt with. Three

[12] See note 9.
[13] i.e.: Total costs and claims paid amounted to 78.8 cents per $100 of payroll.

of the best known are the concentrated and more or less permanent surpluses of labor in the railroad centers and the bituminous and anthracite fields. There are others. One may properly ask how far an Emergency Relief Board as such can be expected to go in attempting to deal conclusively with such problems, but to the extent that relief is involved, it certainly would seem to be within the purview of the Board to explore the borderline problem and to adapt its own policy most constructively to the need. In such areas, for example, the soundness of work relief that is transparently only temporary come particularly into question.

Conclusions

The purpose of this inquiry was to determine the proper place of work in Pennsylvania unemployment relief. The conclusion is that *under present Pennsylvania conditions any conditional mixing of work and public relief*—either by making work a quid pro quo for public unemployment relief as such, or by making need the main qualification for employment on public work—*is both socially and economically unsound.*

The writer is well aware that this conclusion may be as unacceptable to a great many people—to unemployed in distress as well as to others—as it first was to himself. But he rests content in the conviction (1) that the available facts can honestly and logically lead nowhere else and (2) that not until we adopt some such policy will we begin meeting our relief problem fairly and most effectively.

The evidence further tends to show that where work relief with public funds has had some transient or apparent success, it has been mainly due not to anything inherent in work relief but (1) to rare, imaginative leadership which could be expected to do even better if not handicapped by its drawbacks (2) to excellent projects better handled on either a voluntary or public works basis or (3) to a wage scale that either could not be sustained or justified by any fair appraisal of the project or its effects.

There remain two other types of work relief projects: first, the penal labor type, usually characterized by unimaginative leadership if any, a correspondingly low type of work and still lower performance, and negative results, and a "Work or you don't eat" attitude that not infrequently is the outgrowth of dark-age relationships. What ever the origin of those relationships there are probably few now who really believe that government can properly give partisan aid to their continuance or aggravation. It is not only inconsistent with our basic principles of government; but in practice is no longer operable. There is something attractively American in the view that individuals should not "get something for nothing" but by the same token it is quite as much to our credit that as a people we have come to place upon leadership a reasonable responsibility for making work worthy of the worker.

At the other end of the scale are those small, rare, ably directed projects typified by such programs as those developed in Philadelphia for white collar men and business women. They deserve real encouragement. Carefully adapted to individual needs, they can render both individual and community a high return to the extent that they remain non-competitive. Barring a public works program large enough to furnish employment to virtually everyone that wants it, however, public subsidy of even such quality projects would tend to establish precedents and to encourage their extension into unjustified areas. The only practical course that therefore can be recommended here is that this class of projects continue as now to be financed by private contribution. Such money as can be raised can hardly be misspent, and may do much good.

Summing up, then, the evidence leads one to the conclusion that the conditional mixing of work and relief is unnecessary or subversive. At its best, it is superfluous. At its worst, it condemns itself. There is impressive evidence that, as a State-wide policy, work for relief in food orders alone, on the present relief scale, cannot be operated equitably at net gain to either individual or community.

On the other hand, where the hypodermic of part or full payment in cash has given projects the immediate appearance of success by making

them more attractive and administerable and the projects have increasingly taken on the character of permanent public improvements, two equally conclusive objections arise. The process not only reverses our emphasis and subverts our incentives by putting a premium on being in need but through virtual State and Federal subsidy of local work recruited on the basis of need rather than efficiency, it encourages local irresponsibility and extravagance when the opposites are grievously needed. The problem of the individual trying to get something for nothing is trifling compared to the problem when whole communities get so minded. Between exploitation of workers and expensive unworthy projects, it is an unhappy picture. *Relief is as necessary as work is desirable, but conditioning one on the other leads only into a deepening morass and defeats our purpose by complicating, enlarging and perpetuating the very relief problem that we have every need to simplify and reduce.*

In brief, we know that work relief is no real substitute for employment. In our honest moments, we have admitted that it was only an attempt to make relief more value-creating. But now we find that it only increases our problem so that our wiser course is frankly to acknowledge it and set out to reduce it.

Recommendations

Recommendations were implied in the mandate although there plainly can be no pretence to make them exhaustive. If the evidence and reasoning represented in the foregoing pages is sound, however, the following suggestions would seem to flow directly and logically from them:

1. Completion as rapidly as practicable of the present non-political State Emergency Relief Board relief organization on the unit principle and entrusting to its efficient professional care:

   a. The handling as long as it remains a mass problem of all relief cases immediately resulting from the present emergency, subject to the understanding that this is no time to raise individual standards at public expense. Borderline jurisdictions, as in cases of illness, widowhood, etc., should be clearly defined.

   b. The development of standards, methods, and at least a continuing skeleton organization to insure the continued handling of this essentially defensive problem in as simple, sound and objective a manner as possible.

2. Insurance that the County Poor Boards, but as a separate problem, assume and discharge with similar efficiency and understanding their responsibility for the indigent, aged, chronic unemployables, and other groups not covered by special legislation—and them alone.

3. Unequivocal abandonment of any attempt to make work a quid pro quo for the granting of public relief or need the main qualification for public employment, while encouraging as an entirely separate matter, the development wherever genuine leadership exists of self-generating and self-rewarding voluntary programs to make communities better places to live in. If financed, projects also should not displace any workers.[14] All such programs, however, should be subject to central State Emergency Relief Board supervision and control. The records of Greenville and of Philadelphia's white collar projects, for example, indicate that these things are within the range of real leadership. The experience of the recent programs with workmen's compensation legislation and procedure, however, suggests the need before undertaking such programs of developing really suitable legislation and a manual for handling this subject thoroughly.

4. Recognition that basic unemployment relief is the responsibility of society in general and of our political and economic leadership in particular; and therefore should be offered in such a way as not to reflect stigma on its recipients until at least equivalent real and suitable employment is available to all who want it. By thus acknowledging the problem and providing the relief machinery for dealing

[14] For suggestive lists of principles and types of work, see note 2, p. 86; also "Class'n of Work Relief Projects", New York T. E. R. A., May 15, 1933.

with it objectively, we are free to concentrate our energies on meeting the problem head-on.

5. Immediate expansion of economically sound and necessary highway and public works as a primer to private employment, these works to be recruited and conducted primarily on the realistic basis of efficiency and of qualifications for the work (not need). With only one-third of our unemployed on relief, we cannot afford to make relief attractive. All such programs, moreover, should be financed and administered in such a manner that local initiative, and funds shall not be dried up. All public works, in other words, should be at all times featured by the requirements, disciplines, incentives and rewards of real work.

6. Recognition that an impartial effective employment service is an essential part of the machinery in any intelligent and successful attack on unemployment, and, therefore, a service whose expansion, efficiency, and integrity, all parties should demand and jealously guard. The present Federal Administration, under the Wagner-Peyser Act provides the leadership, standards and fund matching for those States prepared to take advantage of it, and Pennsylvania will do well to prepare now to make the most of its expanded opportunity next year. Highway or public works labor also should be regularly recruited through the State Employment Service or coordinated agencies designated by it, both to insure better selection and clearance with relief, other localities, etc., and to strengthen the service. If government itself does not use its own employment service, it can hardly expect others to do so.

7. Importance of passage by the next legislature of sound legislation to promote and insure both long-range fiscal and physical planning by the State and its political sub-divisions, so public works expenditure can be made to best social and economic effect and the public credit conserved against just such emergencies as the present. H. R. 1566, passed by the last legislature, provides a pattern refined from best experience and endorsed in principle by authorties from the President down.

8. Thorough exploration of and practical experimentation with the possibilities of restoring to a self-supporting basis substantial numbers of workers who are unlikely to return to their former occupations, such as anthracite and bituminous coal mining.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) R. F. Evans.

ADDENDA

AIMS AND CRITERIA OF WORK PROJECTS

(This memorandum, originally addressed in December, 1932, to Work Relief Projects, applies now equally to voluntary, private or civil works projects.)

I. Aims

The first responsibility of a relief program is to provide, for all, the minimum essentials to life and health. When available funds are adequate to provide those vital necessities as well as the extra costs of administering work, the distribution of part of those funds in the form of sound work projects may serve the following desirable ends: (1) To maintain habits of industry and avoid deterioration which accompanies prolonged idleness; (2) to preserve morale; (3) to reduce the cost to the community by returning substantial benefits that only work can create.

II. Criteria

Experience tends to show, however, that such work projects succeed only to the extent that they meet the following criteria:

1. *No substitutions* No project must be permitted to reduce by a dollar the money available for real wages. If in the slightest degree work projects tend to displace other money or workers now or during the depression, it is wasted effort and defeats its main purpose. Work furthermore should be

2. *In the public interest*—not for private parties or special groups.

3. *Of permanent economic and social value*

4. *Of maximum labor content and of a character most efficiently done by such labor*: if relief funds are not to be impaired, the beneficiary employer in any case should provide from funds not otherwise needed for relief, all necessary materials, equipment, workmen's compensation insurance and such needed supervision as cannot be provided as part of the project.

5. *Accessible to the unemployed* without excessive cost or effort.

6. *Least affected by inclement weather,* both out of consideration for poorly clad workers and the permanence of the work of undertaken.

7. *Of a character to command public interest and cooperation and to improve morale of the workers.*

8. *Diversified* as far as possible to accommodate various types, skills and abilities. It is not only true that best results follow from putting people at their own trades; bad work, disorganization and expensive accidents all too frequently result from poor placement. Wherever possible, therefore, the assistance of social agencies and the State Employment Service should be enlisted, for experience shows that expert and absolutely impartial selection and placement of workers for their mental as well as their physical needs, attitude and ability fully repays its cost—and vice versa.

9. *In as large units as possible* to make administration simple and inexpensive. Results will vary quite directly with supervision.

10. *Careful advance planning* to insure worthwhile projects, well adapted to the needs of both the community and the worker; their effective clearance with relief; their development only so far and fast as can be done wisely and well under the conditions imposed; and their recruitment and conduct thenceforth as real work.

III. *Administrative Considerations:*

In short, a work relief program is just as sound socially as it possesses the characteristics and provides the rewards of real work. It is just as sound economically as it is at once non-competitive and yet returns all its costs. It is just as feasible administratively as it permits of integration with both the whole relief program and the normal work of the community.

Such problems cannot be resolved by mere wishful thinking. If we are to preserve those qualities of independence and responsiveness that always have characterized the American worker, it is simply a matter of enough eligible work projects and sufficient funds,[15] *over and above those required for the community's minimum relief needs,* to provide the necessary overhead and enough of a premium to make the work manageable. At the minimum, it calls for private support to underwrite selective projects for the best of the white-collared unemployed. At most, it means a comprehensive program of state-wide or nation-wide public works, providing work for all, on equitable work relief terms, and soundly administered on a strictly realistic basis. There is little ground between that is tenable.

[15] See footnote 9.

Appendix III

Laws Relating to Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania

Laws Creating and Directly Affecting the State Emergency Relief Board

August 19, 1932:

Act 51—Creating the State Emergency Relief Board; prescribing its powers and duties; and making an appropriation of $35,400.00 for administration expenses.

Act 52—Making an appropriation of $12,000,000.00 to the State Emergency Relief Board to be used for unemployment relief.

Act 53—Imposing an emergency sales tax to provide revenue to meet appropriations made for unemployment relief under Act 52.

March 30, 1933:

Act 1A—Appropriating $2,000,000.00 to the State Emergency Relief Board for unemployment relief during May and June, 1933.

April 12, 1933:

Act 3A—Appropriating $5,000,000.00 to the State Emergency Relief Board for unemployment relief.

May 3, 1933:

Act 89—Imposing penalties for the improper use of food orders.

May 18, 1933:

Act 130—Authorizing repayment to the Federal Unemployment Relief Fund and the State Emergency Relief Board of relief funds paid into the Motor License Fund.

Act 131—Amending Act 51 (1932) to authorize the Governor to expend money received from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or any other Federal agency.

Act 133—Requiring county commissioners, poor boards, etc., to furnish information to the State Emergency Relief Board and to exhibit their records upon demand.

May 22, 1933:

Act 172—Appropriating $18,000,000.00 to the State Emergency Relief Board for unemployment relief and $100,000.00 for administration expenses.

May 26, 1933:

Act 262—Appropriating $20,000,000.00 to the State Emergency Relief Board for the biennium beginning June 1, 1933, contingent on the approval of the voters of an amendment to the Constitution.

June 3, 1933:

Supplement 328—Defining the liability of public or charitable bodies, etc., to pay workmen's compensation to persons injured in work relief employment; and establishing the State Work Relief Compensation Fund.

Laws Indirectly Affecting the State Emergency Relief Board

May 18, 1933:

Act 124—Authorizing municipalities and townships to provide work for unemployed persons by repairing sidewalks, without cost to owners, the materials to be purchased from relief funds.

Act 137—Authorizing courts to stay certain tax sales, where such sales would work inequity by reason of the economic emergency.

May 22, 1933:

Act 169—Authorizing cooperative agricultural associations to purchase and stock land and lease plots to heads of unemployed families.

May 23, 1933:

Supplement 197—Authorizing the payment of grants accrued and unpaid at the death of a mother as provided in the Mothers' Assistance Fund.

Act 201—Amending the Poor Relief Act (May 14, 1925, P. L. 762) to define legal settlement and the liability of the poor districts for support.

May 25, 1933:

Act 229—Subjecting tax claims, in certain instances, to compromise and the reconveyance of property purchased by the county to the original owner.

May 26, 1933:

Act 249—Authorizing counties, cities, etc., to borrow money up to 2% of their assessed valuation for alleviating unemployment distress.

Act 250—Authorizing counties, cities, etc., to borrow money up to 7% of their assessed valuation, with the consent of the voters, for alleviating unemployment distress.

Act 256—Empowering school districts of the first class to furnish food, including milk, to undernourished and poor school children, at the expense of the school district.

Appendix IV

Selected References on Unemployment Relief in Pennsylvania

Publications of the State Emergency Relief Board

Getting the Most for Your Food Money—2 page leaflet. Revised, December, 1933.

Pennsylvania Emergency Relief Handbook, August, 1933. Loose-leaf, specially paged (For use of persons engaged in the administration of unemployment relief in Pennsylvania).

Pennsylvania Community Market Plan, February, 1933—15 pages.

Related Publications

Messages of the Governor of Pennsylvania, Journals and other Legislative Documents of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania.

Federal Emergency Relief Administration: rules and regulations, monthly reports and special bulletins.

Civil Works Administration of Pennsylvania: rules and regulations and special bulletins.

Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare: Monthly Bulletin.

Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry: "How Many are Jobless in Pennsylvania", Special Bulletin No. 33, July, 1931, 32 pages.

Palmer, Gladys L.: "Thirty Thousand in Search of Work", State Employment Commission, Department of Labor and Industry, 1933, 93 pages.

Dunham, Arthur: "Emergency Relief in Pennsylvania", Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, 311 S. Juniper Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. February, 1933, 30 pages.

Appendix V

Members of the State Emergency Relief Board

Governor (Chairman)
Gifford Pinchot, August 19, 1932—

Lieutenant Governor
Edward C. Shannon, August 19, 1932—

Auditor General
(Charles A. Waters, August 19, 1932—May 1, 1933)
Frank Baldwin, May 2, 1933—

State Treasurer
(Edward Martin, August 19, 1932—May 1, 1933)
Charles A. Waters, May 1, 1933—

Speaker of the House of Representatives
(C. J. Goodnough, August 19, 1932—November 30, 1932)
Grover C. Talbot, January 3, 1933—

Advisory Members
William A. Schnader, Attorney General
Alice F. Liveright, Secretary, Department of Welfare